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RED FLAG

No. 22, 16 November 1981

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CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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DISPEL MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND STRENGTHEN UNITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 2-5

[Article by RED FLAG editorial department]

[Text] At present, our party has a powerful contingent of cadres. This contingent is our people's guide and director in building a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization. We may also say that it is our people's organizer and inspirer in thoroughly emancipating ourselves. This contingent of ours is a fine one. However, there is still a rather conspicuous problem existing in this continent. A portion of cadres are not very closely and firmly united. In some places, misunderstandings among cadres are still numerous, serious and acute.

What was the cause of these misunderstandings? We must first do some historical analysis. We should settle the account of these misunderstandings among cadres under the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and should never lay the responsibility on our comrades themselves. It was Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who damaged our party's work style, confused our ideology and sowed discord among our cadres.

If misunderstandings exist among our cadres and if our cadres are not sufficiently united, our party will not have fighting strength. Misunderstandings among cadres are corrosive agents loosening the organization and are stumbling blocks preventing us from fulfilling the four modernizations with one heart and soul. To put this in stronger terms, if these misunderstandings are not dispelled, people with ulterior motives will use them to their advantage. Our comrades must pay attention to this and guard against this. We should understand the harm and danger of disunity among cadres, find a positive solution to dispel misunderstandings and strengthen unity.

Dispelling misunderstandings existing among cadres mainly depends on raising our consciousness. There are eight points concerning this problem that are worthy of our attention:

1. Cadres Who Have Wrongly Criticized or Struggled Against Our Comrades or Wrongly Determined the Nature of Their Cases Should Promptly Take Remedial Actions Such as Redressing the Cases and Reversing the Verdicts Depending on Each Specific Case. Comrades who did not participate in this criticism and

struggle should enthusiastically agree to this policy. Comrades who participated in this criticism and struggle, especially comrades who conducted this criticism and struggle, should all the more agree to this policy. Whether we use the term redressing a case or reversing a verdict is not important. What is important is to make a satisfactory conclusion of the investigation. If a person was wrongly criticized and the nature of his case was wrongly determined but he has shortcomings and mistakes in other respects, what must we do? His shortcomings and mistakes are another question. If he was wrongly criticized and struggled against, we should redress his case. If the nature of his case was wrongly determined, we should reverse the verdict. As for his mistakes in other respects, we can educate him and criticize him. Will it be all right if we do not redress his case, do not reverse the verdict and do not make a satisfactory conclusion of the investigation? No. If you do not handle his case properly this year, you have to do so next year. If you do not solve the problem when you are here, someone else will come to solve it in a year or two. An early solution is better than a late one. Solving the problem yourself is better than leaving the problem for others to solve. We must do a good job in this respect. It will never do to wrong a good comrade or to pin a political label on others at will. It is a feudal practice to divide ourselves into factions. This is not the practice of the Communist Party. Comrade Mao Zedong consistently advocated a policy for cadres which was condensed into two words: fair and upright. Being fair and upright is our party's basic requirement and fine tradition. But this fine tradition was damaged during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Of course, unhealthy phenomena had also appeared in certain periods before the "Great Cultural Revolution." Persisting in being fair and upright toward cadres' problems is a concrete manifestation of resolutely implementing the line and policy of the third plenary session.

2. If We Were Wrongly Criticized and Struggled Against or If the Nature of Our Own Cases Was Wrongly Determined, We Should Not Brood on What Happened After Our Cases Were Redressed and the Verdicts Reversed. We Should Not Keep Picking on Our Comrades Who Once Criticized and Struggled Against Us, Much Less Should We Set Excessive Demands on the Organization. Comrades who were wrongly criticized and struggled against should think over and be thoroughly clear about three questions: First, why was I criticized and struggled against? Second, did I also wrongly criticize others? In the past 10 years or so, the overwhelming majority of us "have been wrongly criticized by others but have also wrongly criticized others." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," these were common occurrences. Third, we must make it clear that if we keep picking on others and if we set excessive demands on the organization, are we acting in conformity with the party's interests, the people's interests and the spirit of the sixth plenary session? If we are clear about these three questions, the problem will be easily solved. In 1933, Lu Xun wrote a poem entitled "To the Trident Pagoda" in which there were two lines: "After surviving a catastrophe, a smile we exchanged drowned all our previous grudges." How should we treat each other after we have experienced the turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution?" Should we abuse each other or should we display the communist style and manner? Since we are communists and party cadres, we should have the broadmindedness of the proletariat. We should put the party's interests above everything else and personal feelings should be discarded.

3. Cadres Who Actually Have Difficulties in Working in Their Original Localities or Units Should Not Be Asked To Work There. They Themselves Should Not Request To Stay or To Be Sent There. A revolutionary makes his home wherever he is. If it is inconvenient for him to work at a certain place, he should be transferred to another. This is called making revolution in a new place. This will be convenient for all people concerned. Facts have proved that after some comrades have been transferred to other places, they work very well. We should not be swayed by our feelings in making revolution. If we insist on staying at a certain place and refuse to work somewhere else, we are not right. Making revolution is different from playing games. We should have a correct attitude in accepting work assigned us by the party organization and should not be swayed by our personal feelings.

4. If for Various Reasons, Some Comrades Are Actually Incompetent in Their Present Work and Many Other Comrades Are Complaining About This, We Should Assign Them Other Work After Fully Preparing Them Ideologically. Comrades who are assigned new work should gladly go to their new posts. This includes some comrades who were promoted in the past few years to positions too high for them and who need to make up missed lessons. This is not the first time in our party's history that comrades need to make up missed lessons. During the difficult period in 1962, many ministers of the Central Committee were transferred to work as secretaries of the prefectural CCP committees or the county CCP committees. At present, some cadres have also been transferred to lower levels. Comrades Wang Chonglun, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, has voluntarily gone to work as deputy secretary of the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee. There he is in charge of bean curd production and of improving the livelihood of the masses. He is doing his work pretty well. There is no harm in making up missed lessons! It is good for us to change our work from time to time. We can sometimes take up leadership work and sometimes work under others' leadership. Some comrades said to those who would have to change their work, "The work assigned you is not suited for you. You must insist on not taking it up!" They were not acting according to the party's principle. They were more of a hindrance than a help.

5. Each Comrade Should Assess Himself According to the Method of One Dividing Into Two. He Should Be Aware of His Contributions to the Party and the People, But He Should Also Be Aware of His Weak Points. We should never think that the party owes us a favor. At no time will it be possible for the party to owe us a favor. It will only be possible for us to owe the party a favor. In "How To Be a Good Communist," Comrade Liu Shaoqi already clearly explained this matter. We hope that each party member will see that he is correct in some respects but that he has also made mistakes. A revolutionary is bound to make mistakes of this kind or that in his life. Among revolutionary comrades some may have made more serious mistakes, while others may have made less serious ones. Some comrades' mistakes may have lasted longer while others' may have lasted a shorter time. Some comrades may have realized their mistakes sooner while others may have realized theirs later. Nevertheless, we have all made mistakes. We should see our strong points as well as our weak ones. We should see what is correct in ourselves, but we should also be aware that beneath

the surface of correctness is often hidden pride and conceitedness. Therefore, we should link revolutionary vigor with modesty and prudence. It is imperative for us to have both revolutionary vigor and modesty and prudence.

6. All Our Comrades, Especially Party Members and Cadres, Must Work for the Party and the People Unreservedly and Wholeheartedly. Within our party, no special members are allowed. Unless one is sick or is unable to work, it is not correct for one to require the party to give one preferential treatment before accepting an assignment. This problem was already made very clear by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in his "How To Be a Good Communist." He said that even if the assignment was not appropriate, one should obey it unconditionally. Recently this viewpoint has been specially emphasized by the comrades in the central authorities. We must judge our cadres through their political behavior and see whether they are implementing the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Since the third plenary session, four plenary sessions have been held by the CCP Central Committee. If one did not act as required by the Central Committee and did things only according to one's own feelings during the period of the first three plenary sessions, and if this mistake can still be forgiven, then after the sixth plenary session, it will be a serious matter if one persists in such mistakes. Now it should be an important and chief standard to judge our cadres to see whether they are acting in line with the party's line and doing their jobs actively. Whether they are doing their work well must not be judged by themselves only but be judged by practice. The resolution adopted by the sixth plenary session evaluated Comrade Mao Zedong's great contributions and pointed out his mistakes as well. After this plenary session, it is our turn to examine ourselves. All comrades within our party must be ready to stand this historical test and be examined by the majority of inner-party comrades and the people.

7. All Comrades Should Take a Clear-cut, Principled Stand on Major Issues of Principle. In his speech at the meeting to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Communists should take a clear-cut stand on questions of principle and should uphold truth. Every party member should uphold the party spirit and be unequivocal in his position on questions of right and wrong which involve the interests of the party and the people and should show clearly what he is for and what he is against. The rotten and vulgar practice of trying to be on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle is incompatible with the proletarian character of our party." At the forum on ideological work, the central authorities pointed out that a rather typical phenomenon at present was the weakness and laxness of the leadership in our ideological work. As a result, it has become hard to make or to hear criticism, and even harder to make self-criticism. Now there are three main unhealthy tendencies among our cadres: building houses by practicing egalitarianism and indiscriminately transferring commune members' properties, getting jobs for their children by taking advantage of relations and giving dinners or sending gifts in order to curry favor. Party committees at various levels should take resolute measures to check these unhealthy tendencies which exist, to a differing extent, among a large number of our cadres throughout the country. If they are not checked, the masses will not be satisfied. We must develop the party's fine tradition of taking good care of our cadres. In this connection, Comrade Mao Zedong gave an excellent exposition in his article "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War."

He said: "There are several ways of taking good care of cadres: first, give them guidance. This means allowing them a free hand in their work so that they have the courage to assume responsibility and, at the same time, giving them timely instructions so that, guided by the party's political line, they are able to make full use of their initiative. Second, raise their level. This means educating them by giving them the opportunity to study so that they can enhance their theoretical understanding and their working ability. Third, check up on their work and help them sum up their experience, carry forward their achievements and correct their mistakes. To assign work without checking up and to take notice only when serious mistakes are made--that is not the way to take care of cadres. Fourth, in general, use the method of persuasion with cadres who have made mistakes and help them correct their mistakes. The method of struggle should be confined to those who make serious mistakes and nevertheless refuse to accept guidance. Here patience is essential. It is wrong to lightly label people 'opportunists' or to lightly begin 'waging struggles' against them. Fifth, help them with their difficulties. When cadres are in difficulty as a result of illness, straitened means or domestic or other troubles, we must be sure to give them as much care as possible. This is how to take good care of cadres." Comrade Mao Zedong clearly told us dozens of years ago how to take good care of cadres and pointed out that waiting until serious mistakes are made before helping them is not the way to take care of cadres. It is quite necessary for us to study again and put into practice the five ways of taking good care of cadres put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong.

8. Both Old and New Cadres Must Be United and Act in Close Coordination. Over the past 3 years, the comrades in the central authorities have always said that the great majority of the old cadres had, generally speaking, made great contributions to the party, and that we must take good care of them and show concern for them. Moreover, some new measures will be taken by the central authorities in this respect to ensure that the great number of retired cadres, or old cadres who leave office temporarily to rest and recuperate, will live a happy life in their later years. Their political and material life will be guaranteed, which will not be worse, but better, than the cadres at their posts. Old cadres must boldly take on the historical responsibility of selecting and training young cadres. They are expected to help train and promote to more important posts those young cadres who resolutely implement the party's line, work hard and are not afraid of difficulties, and who are ambitious and well versed in scientific and cultural knowledge. In the early years of the Tang Dynasty, there was a writer, Wang Bo by name, who wrote two verses in one of his pieces of prose "Introduction to Teng Wang Pavilion," which are still familiar to us. The first line is: "Being more vigorous though old, my heart would never die." The second is: "Being more strong-willed though poor, I would never be demoralized." We are revolutionaries, so we must work with all our hearts to bring benefit to the people and the coming generations rather than merely calculating for the interests of a small minority of people or for ourselves and our families, which are far too paltry when compared with the interests of the state. It is true that we are poor. Our country is poor, our land is poor, and the income of our people is not high. But do not forget to "be more strong-willed though poor!" A man may be poor, yet he must never be demoralized. It is too paltry if one only calculates for oneself and is out for petty gains.

Although we are poor, we must "never be demoralized." Instead, we must have high aspirations to build our country into a powerful modern socialist country, and furthermore, to build communism. In order to attain this glorious goal, it is necessary that our old cadres do a good job in helping the young cadres and educating their own children.

If these eight points are carried out and concerted efforts are made, no matter how deep and serious the misunderstandings are, they can certainly be cleared up one after another, and our cadres will be more united and march forward hand in hand to the great goal of the four modernizations. We are sure that if our ranks of cadres become more closely united and more militant, and the spirit of the old man who removed the mountains is further developed, a miracle will be created on our vast land after 10 to 20 years of hard struggle, a miracle which we have been longing for day and night over the past decades, that is, the emergence of a powerful, prosperous and happy new socialist China.

ENHANCE PARTY SPIRIT AND RECTIFY PARTY WORK STYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 6-11

[Article by Xiao Huan [5618 5478]]

[Text] The question of party work style is a matter of vital importance to the party. Our party has always paid great attention to developing its work style. After seizing political power in the country, our party comrades maintained and carried forward the work style of the war years, won victories in socialist transformation and construction and withstood stern trials in complicated situations at home and abroad. Why were the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques unable to bring about the downfall of the party during the decade of chaos? An important reason is that our party has a vast number of party members and cadres who have been reared in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and has a complete set of fine traditions and work style. However, we should see that our party is the ruling party of the whole country and our party-building has long been under the profound influence of leftist guiding ideology. In particular, we should see that as a result of the serious damage done during the 10 turbulent years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the political and ideological state of mind of our party is faced with new and higher demands in its endeavor to strengthen itself politically, ideologically, organizationally and in terms of work style.

Today, many people are talking about the question of party work style and are quite clear about the manifestations of unhealthy party work style and their harm. Why is it that there has not been a fundamental change for so long? In my opinion, the main reason is that it is not a question of party work style alone but rather a syndrome resulting from the weakening of the entire party structure during the 10 turbulent years. Although many problems have found expression in party work style, they have their roots in the tempering of party spirit by the party members. Therefore, in order to bring about a change in party work style, the crucial thing is to grasp the tempering of party spirit by the party members in accordance with the characteristics of a ruling party.

In Order To Enhance Party Spirit and Rectify Party Work Style, It Is Necessary First of All To Formulate and Uphold the Party's Correct Line

Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP: "The historical experience of the

past 60 years can be summed up in one sentence: there must be a Marxist revolutionary line and a proletarian party capable of formulating and upholding this line." In order to enhance party spirit and rectify party work style, the most important thing is to have a correct line and to uphold this line. If the line is correct and effectively implemented, production will develop, the livelihood of the masses will steadily improve, their revolutionary enthusiasm will soar and they will support us. If the line is not correct and it infringes upon the interests of the people, relations between the party and the people are bound to become strained and the people will keep their distance from the party. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has rectified the leftist guiding ideologies and formulated a Marxist line that suits our national condition. As long as the vast number of our party members will lead the masses in earnestly implementing this line, do a good job of economic work, continuously develop production and steadily raise the material and spiritual living standards of the masses, the masses will wholeheartedly support the party's leadership. We can find a host of similar examples in every corner of our country. In many places where the policies are properly implemented, where increases are reported in agricultural production and where the masses are making a bigger income, the party gets on amicably with the masses and enjoys high prestige among them. In some places, however, the party members and cadres still entertain leftist ideas and still have misgivings about the party's line, principles and policies and even refuse to implement them. Production remains at a low level for a long time and the masses grow estranged from the party. This fully shows that policies and tactics are the lifeline of the party. By formulating and upholding the correct line, we will be able to maintain closer ties between the party and the masses and fundamentally improve the party work style. To judge whether or not a party member has a strong party spirit, we should first see whether he resolutely implements the party's line, principles and policies. If he does not resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies but, instead, infringes upon the interests of the masses, he does not have any party spirit or good party work style to speak of.

At present, the political line of our party is to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country and build China step by step into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization. The ideological line of our party is to seek truth from facts, proceed from reality in everything and integrate theory with practice. The organizational line of our party is to uphold and strengthen democratic centralism, consolidate the party organization, train and select cadres who have both ability and political integrity and build a contingent of cadres who are more revolutionary, professionally more competent, more educated and younger by mobilizing the veteran cadres to pass on their experience, give help and set an example. Resolutely implementing the party's line means carrying forward the party's fine work style in a concrete and practical way. Every one of our party members should set an example in carrying out the party's line, principles and policies.

Of course, having a correct line does not mean that our party work style will improve automatically. Only when the comrades of the whole party are making a concerted effort to resolutely rectify the unhealthy tendencies will we have a fine party work style and be able to implement the party's line in a better way.

In implementing the party's line, principles and policies, we must bear in mind the actual conditions. If we depart from the actual conditions in our own locality or department, we will not have any creativeness and will not be able to bring the advantages of the policies into play no matter how good these policies are. On this score, two tendencies merit our attention: one is narrow empiricism, which proceeds from partial and isolated experience alone and ignores the principle that underlies the policies. The other is the tendency to stress the underlying principle of the policies alone without considering the local conditions. The latter situation is particularly worthy of attention. For example, on the question of implementing the production responsibility system in the rural areas, some comrades do not pay attention to the actual conditions and think only of the extent to which a certain responsibility system should be implemented. How can this work? Making a concrete analysis of concrete problems is the living soul of Marxism. By combining a high degree of principle with flexibility, we can give great vitality to the party's line. Comrade Liu Shaoqi once said: It is easy to talk about materialism but difficult to actually put it into practice. In order to overcome this difficulty, it is important to go deep into the realities of life, energetically encourage the practice of conducting investigation and study, carry out a thorough investigation and study of the local conditions so as to understand things like the back of our hands and proceed from reality in all our work. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in the article "Reform Our Study" that promoting the practice of conducting investigation and study throughout the party is "the fundamental link in changing the party work style." Once this fundamental link is grasped, our party work style will become completely honest and upright. The people of the whole country will then learn from us, and the party's line, principles and policies will be implemented in a better way.

In Order To Enhance Party Spirit and Rectify Party Work Style, It Is Necessary To Maintain Closer Ties With the Masses

Ours is a ruling party. The party organizations and the party cadres all have a fair amount of power. How this power is exercised has an important bearing on whether or not our party will depart from the masses and degenerate. We should take this question as an important issue when we are making an effort to strengthen the tempering of party spirit and the cultivation of our minds.

First, we must always bear in mind that we must adopt a correct attitude toward the masses. Our party represents the interests of the people and every party member is a servant of the people. This is an outstanding characteristic that distinguishes our party from other political parties. If we depart from the masses, how can we call ourselves communists or speak of party spirit? During the war years when the two armies were pitted against each other, the relationship between the party and the masses was a very sensitive issue. The side that maintained close ties with the masses and always worked for the interests of the masses would win the support of the masses and be in a position to lead the masses to victory. On the contrary, if any side departed from the masses in the slightest way and lost the support of the masses, it would immediately face defeat and find its survival at stake. During the period of peaceful reconstruction, departure

from the masses would also inflict losses on the cause of revolution and construction. After our party became the ruling party and the country was stabilized, some people departed from the masses either wittingly or unwittingly after wielding power and became special party members. "Power" is something that has a dual character. A person can make use of his power to work for the interests of the people, or he can turn from a servant into an overlord and even ride roughshod over the people. Special privileges mean political and economic rights that are outside our law and system. During the 10 chaotic years, rules and regulations for preventing bureaucratism were trampled underfoot, the regular activities of the party organizations were sabotaged and unhealthy practices developed. Some leading cadres of our party abused their power to seek private gains and even violated law and discipline. In the final analysis, such a state of affairs was a reflection of the idea entertained by the exploiting classes that prerogatives and privileges go with position. It is incompatible with the nature of our party and the party spirit of our party members. Those who are tainted with bad habits are actually not true communists anymore, although they still keep their titles as party members. On the eve of the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong urged the comrades of the whole party to read Guo Moruo's "Tercentenary of the 1644 Uprising" which explained in fairly great detail why the peasant forces led by Li Zicheng met with defeat within such a short time after their victory. We should draw lessons from historical experience. We must not follow the same disastrous road as Li Zicheng, who courted his own defeat because he became arrogant and corrupt after victory. We must consciously overcome the corrosive influence of the idea that prerogatives and privileges go with position. No matter how great a victory we have won or how much power we wield, we must resolve never to seek special privileges. With the spirit of "head bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children," we must wholeheartedly work for the interests of the people and always be loyal servants of the people. At the same time, we must also maintain close relations like those of fish to water with the masses of the people.

Communists must also always bear in mind that they must apply the correct method in leading the masses. The party is the leader that runs the activities of our state. This basic principle must be upheld. However, for years we had been disturbed by the problem of poor leadership. There was no division of work between the party and the government, with the party undertaking the whole thing, including administrative affairs. We have learned profound lessons in this regard. Posing as leaders, some comrades acted arbitrarily, resorted to coercion and commandism, reprimanded and scolded others at random and departed from the masses to a serious extent. In order to solve this problem, we must first of all clarify the relationship between party and administrative leadership and be good at guiding the masses by means of the party's line, principles and policies and effective ideological and political work. What does party leadership mean? It means guidance in every sense of the word. The party's relations to organs of state power, administrative bodies and economic organizations can best be described as the relationship between the main switch of a giant machine and its various components. Every component has its own function and role and the party cannot replace the functions and powers of these setups and organizations. Otherwise, the state will not be able to carry out its activities in an orderly manner and something will go awry. Our party developed

and expanded under wartime conditions. For the purpose of waging a struggle against the enemy and mobilizing the party, the army and the people to fight a victorious war, it was necessary to exercise unified leadership. During the period of peaceful reconstruction, the same approach can no longer apply. The phenomenon of the party taking on everything does not just stem from the leadership system. It has its ideological roots. Some comrades do not understand that the relationship between the party and the masses is not one between the superior and the subordinate, but rather a relationship based on equality. The party can only act in accordance with the aspirations of the people; it has no right to impose its will on the masses. Every party member and party organization must carry out the party's resolutions and directives without preconditions. However, we must not use the party's resolutions and directives to order the masses around or to force them to accept the party's position. We have been stressing all along that we must rely on the truth to convince people, rely on ideological and political work to mobilize people, rely on the correct line, principles and policies to guide people and help them understand their own interests, and at the same time mobilize and unite the masses to fight for their own interests. Before seizing political power in the whole country, we did not wield much power and relied only on the truth. In the White areas, we mobilized the masses in the tens of millions to stage parades, demonstrations, walkouts and students' strikes to oppose the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In the bases and the liberated areas, we mobilized the masses in the tens of millions to join the army and take part in fighting. On the fronts, we mobilized the people's soldiers to ignore personal safety and fight heroically while trying to persuade and educate the captives to turn their guns against the Kuomintang reactionaries. In the present new historical period, we must still rely on this method of raising people's awareness to win their support for party leadership and must not rely on coercion and commandism. The party organizations at all levels should be adept at giving full scope to the role of the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation, the Association for Science and Technology, the Federation of Literary and Art Circles and other mass organizations and must mobilize them to conduct extensive and penetrating ideological work among the masses in various forms. The vast number of party members should be good at making friends with the masses outside the party and must patiently publicize and explain to them the party's line, principles and policies and help them solve their ideological problems and practical problems in everyday life. In this way, the masses will be willing to tell the party members what they think and will come to the party members for help when they have difficulties, grievances and disputes. Only when the party members and the masses are of the same mind and closely linked with each other can our party shoulder the important task of leading the masses.

We must inherit and carry forward the fine tradition of being the first to charge forward and the last to retreat and of facing danger fearlessly displayed by the party members during the war years. Every communist should have the noble disposition of "being the first to endure hardships and the last to enjoy comforts" and use his own exemplary action to influence and educate the masses.

In Order To Enhance Party Spirit and Rectify Party Work Style, It Is Necessary To Take Up the Weapon of Criticism and Self-Criticism

Criticism and self-criticism constitute one of the three major work styles of our party and are an effective weapon for maintaining and carrying forward the party's fine tradition. Our party has always paid great attention to applying the method of criticism and self-criticism to resist and correct erroneous ideas, rectify the party work style and increase the party's fighting capacity. During the period of the Yanan rectification, this method was applied to oppose subjectivism, sectarianism and party stereotypes. An important yardstick for judging whether a party member has a strong party spirit is to see whether he dares make criticism and self-criticism and whether he can humbly accept criticism. At present, some party organizations are impotent in conducting ideological work and dare not wage a necessary struggle against unhealthy practices. The following are some examples: 1. Some people put fear above everything else and dare not make criticisms. People at the lower levels dare not criticize the higher authorities for fear of being retaliated against. Those at the higher levels dare not criticize their subordinates because they do not want to invite trouble or lose their votes. Comrades dare not criticize each other for fear of hurting the feelings of fellow workers and think it better to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly what is wrong. It is even more difficult for a person to make serious and earnest self-criticism. 2. Some people defy the party's principles, do not accept criticism and start an unprincipled dispute like a wounded tiger whenever they are criticized. If you criticize him at this meeting, he will find an excuse to criticize you back at the next meeting. Some people even bring their dependents and children along with them to make trouble and kick up such a terrible row that the tranquillity of the whole unit is upset. 3. In some units, people who are commended become the targets of ridicule, satire and verbal jabs while those who are criticized suddenly become important persons. There are many reasons for this bad style. The main reason is that under the influence of the leftist guiding ideology a few years ago, we erroneously transplanted the tactics of ruthless struggle and merciless blows, which should be applied in the struggle against the enemy, to the party, thus corrupting the party work style. Many comrades have learned their lessons in a negative way. They get fed up with correct criticism inside the party and are unwilling to make criticisms. Some comrades still have lingering fears and think that another movement is about to start whenever criticism is stressed. There are also some party members who are very selfish and are swayed by considerations of gain and loss. In order to rectify these erroneous tendencies, it is necessary for the party members to strengthen rigorous ideological cultivation and the tempering of party spirit.

First, we must truly understand the meaning of criticism and self-criticism. People cannot help having shortcomings of one sort or another. If we cover up the shortcomings instead of criticizing them, problems will be aggravated. In the "Record of the Warring States," there is a story about how the king of the State of Qi accepted remonstrations. At that time, the State of Qi was poorly managed and the masses had a lot of complaints about it. Zou Ji thus advised Emperor Wei of the State of Qi to issue the following order: Anyone who dares to criticize the king in person will be granted a first-class award; anyone

who dares to criticize the king in writing will be granted a second-class award; and anyone who discusses affairs of the state in public so that the king will know what is going on will be granted a third-class award. As soon as this order was issued, people vied to make criticisms. A year later, great order prevailed over the State of Qi. We communists are the advanced elements of the proletariat. We should be even more enlightened than our forefathers and be imbued with a stronger spirit of criticism and self-criticism. When bourgeois liberalization tendencies emerged some time ago, some units dared not touch them at first. As a result, problems multiplied. After the Central Committee emphasized the need to overcome the state of laxity and weakness, the situation quickly took a turn for the better.

Second, we must be modest and prudent in attitude and selfless in spirit. Criticism and self-criticism reflect a party member's attitude toward shortcomings and mistakes. A person who thinks for the public and sets the interests of the party above everything else will ignore personal loss and gain and will boldly make criticism. A person who entertains selfish ideals and personal considerations is liable to avoid struggle. Therefore, whether or not a person is capable of making criticism is the most practical test of his party spirit. Arrogance and conceitedness are also major obstacles to making criticism. It was arrogance that caused our party to suffer several major setbacks in the past. Our victory in seizing political power and our status as the ruling party can easily lead us to become arrogant and thus make criticism difficult. As the saying goes: "One loses by pride and gains by modesty." Unless we have the courage to make criticism, our cause will not develop. In this connection, the party Central Committee has set an example for the whole party. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has won favorable comment from the whole world in openly acknowledging to the people of the whole country the mistakes committed by our party and by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years.

Criticism and self-criticism also require correct principles and methods. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticisms. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical and to embarrass the comrades concerned. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is great danger that the party members will concentrate entirely on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the party's political tasks." ("Collected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 89) In making criticisms, we must pay attention to politics and must not start an unprincipled dispute. Some people depart from the party's stand, ignore the party's interests, proceed from personal considerations in everything, scramble for personal or factional interests, raise an uproar about trivial matters or vulgarize criticism and self-criticism. This way of doing things not only does not contribute toward solving problems but will bring things to a deadlock. Since both criticism and self-criticism are aimed at resolving contradictions among the

people, we must go about them in a gentle and mild way and must not resort to punishment. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of 'curing the sickness to save the patient.'" ("Collected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 786) In accordance with the principle of "criticism, unity, criticism," we must reason things out for the purpose of helping those criticized so that they will become genuinely convinced. With regard to comrades who have made mistakes, in particular, we should give them enough time to probe and think over problems and to understand themselves. We should not force them to write self-criticism and should not be too hasty about passing judgment organizationally. Applying this correct method, our party has redeemed many good comrades who have made mistakes. Provided that we carry forward this tradition and form the good style of having the courage to make criticism and being good at making criticism, we will be able to effectively rectify all unhealthy tendencies.

In Order To Enhance Party Spirit and Rectify Party Work Style, It Is Necessary To Strengthen the Sense of Organization and Discipline

The problems existing in connection with our party work style in recent years have something to do with the fact that the party members have a weak sense of organization and are lax in discipline and unity. In order to rectify the party work style, we must guide the party members to correctly handle the relationship between the individual and the organization and strengthen their sense of organization and discipline. Right now, our party has expanded into a large party with a membership of over 39 million and nearly 2 million grass-roots cadres. The massive rank and file of party members and our tasks of modernization both demand that we institute strict organizational discipline and achieve a high degree of solidarity and unity. However, after living in peaceful surroundings for more than 30 years, our party members are now faced with new problems in regard to their sense of organization. During the war years, there were also times when discipline became lax. At that time, whether we were in the battlefield or living under the White terror, we would be at the risk of being informed against by renegades or defeated by the enemy if we were not careful enough. Such harsh circumstances objectively compelled the party members to strengthen their sense of organization and discipline. Things are quite different during a period of peaceful reconstruction. In order to strengthen the sense of organization and discipline, we must rely on the party organization to conduct education and rely on the party members to make a conscious effort to carry out ideological and organizational cultivation.

Party members must clearly understand the solemnity of organizational discipline and overcome the tendency to act on one's own politically. Discipline guarantees the implementation of the line. Our party has strength because it has iron discipline. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party laid down the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." Later, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," thus basically unifying the understanding of the whole party on a number of important issues. In addition, the state also drew up a set of laws and decrees. At present, the major policies have been laid down; the rest depends

on whether or not we party members can set an example in consciously carrying them out. During the 10 years of turmoil, the party became seriously disorganized and many party members lacked a sense of discipline. Some even casually criticized the party's resolutions and documents before the masses, told tales about the leaders of the Central Committee and willfully violated the party's "Guiding Principles." Some refused to enforce the party's laws and regulations. They paid no heed to the Central Committee's repeated orders and instructions regarding things to be strictly prohibited and persisted in their old ways. This tendency to act on one's own politically is a corrosive agent that will undermine party unity and create dissension and discord. We must resolutely overcome this tendency and consciously maintain unanimity of views with the Central Committee politically. Our discipline is founded on the basis of consciousness and is to be observed consciously. In observing discipline, a party member is submitting himself to the aspirations of the party, the class and the people. Party discipline presupposes submission. Anyone who refuses to submit will be punished in accordance with the disciplinary measures. Of course, punishment must be handled with great care.

The party organization must boldly carry out its duty in looking after the party members and should put the party members under the supervision of the party. It must examine at regular intervals whether the party members are observing discipline and promptly handle problems if they are discovered. It must set strict demands for the party cadres, especially the high-ranking ones, in its regular activities and ensure that they consciously implement the party's "Guiding Principles" and abide by various rules and regulations. Stalin once said: "If we were to proclaim one law for the leaders and another for the 'common people' in the party, there would be nothing left either of the party or of party discipline." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 11, p 278) Every party member is equal before party discipline and regulations. Cadres are bellwethers among the masses. By setting a good example, the cadres will be able to improve the work style of the whole party. Party members live in the midst of the masses. The masses are in the best position to watch their words and deeds closely and understand their every aspect. While strengthening the party organizationally, it is necessary to fully mobilize the masses to supervise our party members and cadres. In this way, we will have a more solid foundation upon which to enhance party spirit and rectify party work style.

Unity is the lifeline of the party, the source of the party's fighting power. We should safeguard the party's solidarity and unity the same way we cherish our own eyes. The party committees should establish and strengthen democratic centralism, be good at bringing collective wisdom into play and strive to bring about a lively political situation in which we have both democracy and centralism, both freedom and discipline, both personal ease of mind and unity of will. At present, there are a handful of people in society who spread slanderous rumors to attack the leadership of the Central Committee and oppose the four basic principles in an attempt to sabotage the party's unity. We must wage a resolute struggle against this tendency and build our party into a mighty core that leads the four modernizations.

In Order To Enhance Party Spirit and Rectify Party Work Style, It Is Necessary To Carry Forward the Style of Study of Integrating Theory With Practice

Theory is the guide to action. In order to enhance party spirit and rectify party work style, we should begin with theoretical study. Only by arming the party members with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will we be able to basically strengthen the development of party work style.

The 10 years of turmoil did great damage to theoretical development in our party. A large number of young party members have never systematically studied the basic theories of Marxism. Quite a few have not even made an earnest effort to study basic party knowledge. Although the old comrades have studied a bit in the past, they too had slackened their efforts during the 10 tumultuous years of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Lately, the party Central Committee again emphasized the need for comrades throughout the party to exert themselves in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, calling it a major measure of fundamental importance. These days, the tendency to ignore theoretical study is quite serious and many people are simply not interested in studying theory. Some people have said: "Now is the age of economics. It is no use studying theory." This is a very dangerous tendency. We are now at a great turning point in history. The ideological and practical problems we have before us are extremely complicated, and we need correct theoretical guidance to solve these problems. The question of party work style is no exception. At present, we are having quite a few problems with our party work style primarily because we have not made an earnest effort to study the Marxist theory of party-building. We have not systematically analyzed and studied the new circumstances and problems confronting our party since it came to power, found their governing laws and used them to strengthen party-building. Therefore, we must pay attention to theoretical study, systematically study the basic theories of Marxism and make an earnest effort to study the Marxist theory of party-building, the important writings by Comrades Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi on party-building as well as the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." Through study, we will be able to raise our theoretical level, broaden our vision and be able to perceive things more deeply and see further ahead.

Theoretical study must be integrated with practice. Integrating theory with practice is one of the three major work styles of our party. It is because we have divorced ourselves from practice that we become bureaucratic and give arbitrary directions in our work. The integration of theory and practice will give a great impetus to our work and change our work style.

In order to integrate theory with practice, we must pay attention to ideological remolding, overcome the trend of not putting what one has learned into practice and doing nothing but talking, and make a conscious effort to match our words with deeds and to think and act in one and the same way. At present, the problem of our having an unhealthy party work style is mainly due to the corrosive influence of the ideologies of the exploiting classes. Therefore, the key to the solution of this problem lies in whether or not our party members, especially those in leading positions, have a strong concept of party spirit, the spirit of making subjective efforts, the sincere attitude of consciously putting themselves

under the supervision of the masses, and the willingness to go through the arduous process of tempering their party spirit with unswerving perseverance and tenacity and to conscientiously eradicate the corrosive influence of the ideologies of the exploiting classes. Stalin once said: "We communists are people of a special mold." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 6, p 42) This "special" quality includes the fact that we communists are capable of remolding the objective world as well as our own subjective world. In this regard, countless martyrs have set a brilliant example for us. When the martyr Fang Zhimin was in charge of supplies in the 10th Red Army, money passed through his hands in the tens of millions but he never took a single cent. He handled piece goods and clothing enough to fill a whole truck or house, but he himself was always in rags. He wrote in one of his essays: "For the success of the party's cause, I would rather live in a shabby and damp shed than reside in a magnificent mansion; I would rather swallow thorny corn and vegetable roots than taste a delicious Western dish; I would rather sleep in my sty-like den than lie on a soft and comfortable sofa bed..." This is an example of how we should correctly utilize our power. We should take the martyrs as our examples, work hard to remold our world outlook, constantly rid ourselves of selfish ideas and personal considerations and consciously resist the corrosive influence of nonproletarian ideas. After wielding power, we communists should have the confidence and tenacity to temper ourselves into becoming public servants who are honest in performing our official duties and never seek personal gains. We should preserve the noble and pure sentiments required of all communists.

**'LETTING A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOM AND A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND'
IS THE POLICY FOR DEVELOPING SOCIALIST SCIENCE AND CULTURE**

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[Article by Wei Jianlin [5898 1696 2651]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," approved by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, further affirmed the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. The achievements in our socialist scientific and cultural undertakings since the third plenary session are, to a fairly great degree, owing to our party's restoration and implementation of this policy, although other factors have also played their role. If it were not for this policy, there would not have been such a prosperous scientific and cultural situation today, or the magnificent prospect for continuous future development. As our party's long-term basic policy on socialist scientific and cultural undertakings, it has won the support of the broad masses of scientific and cultural workers and the people of all nationalities throughout our country.

Nevertheless, the weakness and laxity that has emerged on our ideological front and the trend of bourgeois liberalization has presented us with a sharp problem, that is, the actual occurrence of certain distortions of this policy.

Being distorted, "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is regarded as a policy that not only permits unlimited publication of various erroneous views and works and even those views and works that tend to be divorced from the socialist orientation and the party's leadership, but also defends, and refuses the principled criticism and self-criticism of, these errors. Being distorted, this policy seems to admit and allow so-called "absolute freedom." When he put forth this policy, Comrade Mao Zedong said that, on the surface, these words had no class character and that they could be exploited by the bourgeoisie as well as by the proletariat and could also be exploited by other people. This prophecy of Comrade Mao Zedong's has unfortunately come true. The current distortions of this policy occurred precisely owing to understanding the policy only literally and more or less forgetting and neglecting its essence. As a result, along with our party's implementation of this policy, certain views and works with an erroneous tendency

emerged in the name of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and no proper criticism or necessary struggle were carried out against them. The crux of the problem still lies in the negation of the proletarian and Marxist nature of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," which was adopted by our party as a policy for developing socialist science and culture.

A certain science and culture is always, in some manner, directly or indirectly related to a certain time, class and social system. Talking about literary and art problems at Yanan in 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out not only that he should develop new democratic literature and art, but also the existence of feudal and bourgeois literature and art. The situation today differs greatly from that at that time, but we should still see that, owing to the impact of various factors at home and abroad, there still exist the science and culture (natural science not included) that do not serve socialism and are not socialist in nature, or even those that are antisocialist in nature, as well as those that serve socialism and are socialist in nature. Faced with this reality, in which things are never uniform, the CCP represents the interests of the broad masses of people in China, certainly cannot and must not formulate a policy to indiscriminately regard both false science and true science and all kinds of culture, whatever their nature. Neither can it entertain the same respect for the most absurd religious fallacies as for scientific laws or praise and admire what plays up sex and violence in the same manner as it praises and admires a realistic art treasure. This not only is against the doctrines held by communists but also is intolerable to the people and to history. "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" can only be a policy for developing socialist science and culture, but not for developing false science or any other kinds of culture. Developing socialist culture: this is the soul of the "double hundred" policy. This is its starting point and conclusion, that is, its whole course.

There is an argument in defense of the distortion of the "double hundred" policy. It alleges that the distortion was owing to the leftist mistakes in our implementation of this policy. The so-called leftist mistakes referred to the fact that after the elimination of classes and under the conditions whereby the exploiters ceased to exist as a class we failed to take the change of historical conditions into account or to make a conscientious study of the objective laws governing the development of science and culture under the new social conditions, treated the large number of controversies between various schools of thought, between different tendencies and between different styles that did not belong to the category of class struggle and had no class characteristics indiscriminately as class struggle and indiscriminately handled them in the light of experience and methods accumulated in prolonged class struggle. By carrying out erroneous and excessive political criticism against some literary and art works, academic viewpoints and representative personalities in the literary and art circles and the academic circles, we tried to solve the problems of right and wrong in the academic field and of the merits and demerits in art through administrative means. These practices could not but more or less hamper normal discussion and competition and hinder certain healthy and beneficial discussion and creation. This often occurred before the "Great Cultural Revolution." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," it developed

to its utmost and resulted in the total abolition of the "double hundred" policy owing to the daily intensification of the leftist mistakes in the guiding ideology and especially owing to the destruction of the Lin Biao and Jinag Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Our party has already exposed and criticized these mistakes. Moreover, at the conference on the problems on the ideological front it convened last August, it reminded all its members that they should not deny the existence of, nor overlook the tendencies toward, simplification and rudeness that have not yet been terminated. However, the lessons we have drawn from our implementation of the "double hundred" policy have two aspects. We have drawn the lesson of our failure to carry out convincing criticism and necessary struggle against the trend of bourgeois liberalization owing to our laxity and weakness as well as the lesson of our leftist mistakes. Both of these lessons should be remembered forever. Simplification and rudeness is wrong and so is laxity, weakness and the trend of bourgeois liberalization. The former is wrong in its denial of the special laws governing science and culture and in taking the prescribed socialist nature of the "double hundred" policy as an intuitive, rigid and abstract concept. The latter is wrong in its denying the prescribed socialist nature of the policy and in its regarding the development of science and culture as an arbitrary and unrestricted course isolated from the surrounding world. Thus, it also denies the special laws governing science and culture. It is inconceivable either to resolve the problem of laxity, weakness and bourgeois liberalization by simple and rude means, or to solve the problem of simplification and rudeness by means of indulging in bourgeois liberalization.

As Comrade Hu Qiaomu correctly pointed out in his speech at the conference on the problems on the ideological front, "Undoubtedly, the 'double hundred' policy is our party's long-term and basic policy for developing scientific and cultural undertakings, but it is utterly groundless to call it the party's only policy concerning ideological work." We should neither confuse "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" with other policies nor isolate the former from the latter. We should truly understand its objective position in the cause of socialist modernization. This means that we should see its inevitable relations with the party's other work, and the party's various general and specific policies, especially the series of the party's general and specific policies concerning ideological work. For example, the party's fighting goal during the new historical period is to gradually build our country into a highly democratic and highly civilized powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern defense and modern science and technology. For example, to serve the people and to serve socialism must become the sole aim of all our party's work and of the life and struggle of every communist. We cannot imagine that the "double hundred" policy can subsist in isolation from these aims. Only when this policy is linked with the above goal and aim can it really meet the demand of our times, our social system and our people of all nationalities. Our party has reiterated and established the Marxist-Leninist ideological line of proceeding from reality, linking theory with practice, seeking truth from facts, and testing and developing truth through practice. This ideological line has put all our party's policies on the firm basis of objective laws and enabled them to correctly reflect the course of history and to be based on science. "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is precisely a policy formulated in accordance with this ideological line and with China's concrete conditions and

the characteristics of the scientific and cultural undertakings. Could there have been this policy if there had not been the party's ideological line? Our party has also put forth the policies of weeding out the old to bring in the new and making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China. They mainly provided some basic principles for socialist science and culture to treat, on its own practical basis, the scientific legacy and cultural legacy at home and the scientific and cultural experience abroad. Will we not retrogress and be reduced to the proletarian culture faction criticized by Lenin if we divorce ourselves from these policies and fail to correctly understand, analyze, reform and learn from the scientific and cultural legacy at home and the scientific and cultural experience abroad?

At present, we should pay special attention to the problem of the relations between the "double hundred" policy and the policy of establishing the leading position of Marxism in all social, political and ideological fields and the policy of criticism and self-criticism.

To make progress, a country must not only develop material production to bring about material abundance, but also apply scientific theory to investigate and reform the world and to educate, unite and encourage the people. Without the support of such a scientific theory, no country can finally gain a firm footing in human history. Advanced and revolutionary scientific thought will ensure that the people will have a firm will, a noble morality, a healthy integration, fine ideals that conform to historical laws, friendly and cooperative relations, and the spirit of devoting themselves to a cause. Thus, the people will be able to unite in action and to play a tremendous role in the life of the state and in other respects. This is another major characteristic that makes the socialist system superior to the capitalist system. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is precisely the ideological banner that guides and promotes the people of all nationalities throughout our country in jointly fighting for the victory of the socialist cause. With this policy, our party has nurtured generation after generation of cadres and people who have achieved victory after victory. In building socialist modernization, we should also continuously draw wisdom and strength from this source. On the one hand, the advance of socialist science and culture cannot do without the guidance of Marxism. On the other hand, Marxism needs to be continuously enriched and developed by integrating itself with the practice of science and culture. Among the "hundred schools of thought" in the scientific and cultural fields, Marxism is not a school that stands on an equal footing with the other schools of thought or other ideological trends, but must occupy the undeniable leading position. This position cannot be established by administrative means, as the leftists would have us believe. It is the result of contention--the struggle between Marxism and non-Marxism and anti-Marxism. Marxism is a truth which will not flinch before any criticism. Owing to the impact of the ideology of the exploiting class, owing to the fact that people differ in their understanding of things in that some understand earlier and others later, some go deeper into things and have a more comprehensive understanding than others, and owing to other reasons, controversies over right and wrong, merits and demerits, are a common occurrence in the scientific and cultural fields. These controversies can only be gradually resolved by scientific and cultural practice and through a complicated process of mutual discussion, consultation,

supplementation and even fusion between different schools of thought, tendencies and styles. The significance of the "double hundred" policy lies precisely in its faithful admission of this process and in establishing the leading position of Marxism through promoting the victory of Marxism in this process.

Perhaps people will harbor this doubt: will putting Marxism into the leading position lead to the exclusion of the immeasurably rich and immeasurably varied characteristics of science and culture? We should say that the greatness of Marxism lies not only in the fact that it is a theory for the proletariat and the laboring people to carry out their revolution and construction. It also lies in what Lenin said in his "On Proletarian Culture," viz, "It [Marxism] has not discarded the most precious achievements of the capitalist epoch; on the contrary, it has assimilated and reformed all that is valuable in the development of human thought and culture for the past 2,000 or more years." Marxism came into being in this way, and it will develop in this way. "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is itself a Marxist policy. It has not only opened up a broad path for the various schools, tendencies and styles in the scientific and cultural fields to develop fully and to make diversified and deep explorations and creations both in form and content so that their innate strengths will grow and become mature, but also guarantees that their various characteristics will come close to objective truth day by day from different directions. Marxism is never a monotonous, closed or rigid system. Any scientific and cultural creation can find a place for itself, so long as it is healthy, progressive, conforms with objective laws and is of benefit to the people, although it can only be included in, but not substituted for, Marxism. The so-called immeasurable abundance and diversification divorced from the guidance of Marxism, that is, being non-Marxist or anti-Marxist in nature, means, in fact, only the flourishing of false science and the rampancy of various dregs of culture. These cases can easily be found under the capitalist system.

A common mistake in understanding that gives rise to the distortions of the "double hundred" policy, either with regard to leftism or with regard to laxity, weakness and bourgeois liberalization, is to treat this policy as something that has nothing to do with criticism and self-criticism. The conclusion is either to regard it as a policy for carrying out erroneous and excessive political criticism, or to hold that the implementation of the policy is incompatible with criticism and self-criticism. Both views overlook the basic fact that the "double hundred" policy is aimed at developing the correct and advanced and overcoming the wrong and the backward through democratic discussion and free competition in the scientific and cultural fields, and at overcoming the false, the bad and the ugly with the true, the good and the beautiful. The above-mentioned development and overcoming should not be taken as something to be achieved by issuing orders and directives, but should be taken as something that can only be achieved by means of criticism and self-criticism. Whether a thing is right or wrong, advanced or backward, true, good and beautiful or false, bad and ugly can only be clearly and definitely distinguished through criticism and self-criticism. In a sense, the "double hundred" policy is precisely the policy of criticism and self-criticism in the scientific and cultural fields. Our party and government never stop their criticism and self-criticism for even a day. For instance, the party has discussed and approved the "Resolution on

Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and the party and government have continuously improved their work and dealt with party members and cadres who have violated party discipline or state laws. Our people, theorists, and literary and art workers have also often put forward various criticisms in order to supervise and promote the work of the party and the government. However, there has now occurred an abnormal practice whereby some theorists and literary and art workers have used various pretexts to refuse to carry out criticism and self-criticism against the erroneous tendencies in their views and works. One of their pretexts is "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." This distortion of the policy by excluding all its content except giving free rein for airing erroneous views is, in fact, a policy of "letting only one flower blossom and only one school of thought be publicized." This will result in injuring the interests of the people and the state. Moreover, it will fail to help those theorists and literary and art workers to gain a sober understanding of, and to correct, their mistakes, which, in the final analysis, everybody is liable to make in scientific research and cultural creation. It will only lead them astray by refusing to accept various beneficial opinions. This will be a blind alley for any scientific research and cultural creation.

Comrade Hu Qiaomu has pointed out that some comrades have misinterpreted the "double hundred" policy and "think that it means that one can write, speak, propagate and publish whatever one wants without troubling oneself about any principle, and that no one can criticize or interfere. This will inevitably deny the distinction in principle between truth and fallacy, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between socialism and capitalism. This will lead to the negation of the necessity of the party's correct leadership over ideological work and taking the party's leadership as restricting and binding, and will consequently lead to striving to boycott and break away from the party's leadership. As the party's policy for handling the contradictions among the people concerning scientific and cultural problems, the "double hundred" policy embodies the party's principles of socialist democracy and the mass line in the scientific and cultural fields. It is also a method by which the party leads the scientific and cultural undertakings. We cannot imagine that right can overcome wrong, the advanced can overcome the backward, and the true, the good and the beautiful can overcome the false, the bad and the ugly all on their own. Never can we draw the conclusion of the negation of the party's correct leadership from the leftist mistakes the party has made in leading scientific and cultural undertakings. The key to this problem lies in that we should not regard the party's leadership as a daily routine or a technicality; on the contrary, we should regard it mainly as an ideological and political leadership and as one concerning the Marxist world outlook and methodology and socialist orientation. This is of especially great significance for scientific and cultural workers who are party members. A communist should become a fine example in carrying out the "double hundred" policy. He should not only safeguard the principles of Marxism, but also promote the development of Marxism concerning scientific research and cultural creation through his hard work. He should not only correct mistakes as soon as they occur, but also be able to make criticisms that can stand the test of practice against all viewpoints that are divorced from Marxism. These are the manifestations of the party spirit of scientific and cultural workers who are party members, and will really and effectively unite and mobilize more and more scientific and cultural workers to make their contributions to the development of the socialist scientific and cultural undertakings.

It has already been over 20 years since the "double hundred" policy was put forth. There have been twists and turns in the course of our understanding and implementation of this policy. Nevertheless, through frequently summing up experiences, we have already achieved universally acknowledged good results. After the sixth plenary session and the conference on the problems on the ideological front, which was an inevitable continuation of the sixth plenary session concerning one of its important contents, we can say with full confidence that our country will achieve greater successes in its socialist scientific and cultural undertakings if "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and other related policies are steadfastly and correctly carried out.

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT GIVING FULL SCOPE TO LIAONING'S FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR HEAVY INDUSTRY

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[Article by Shen Yue [3088 6390]]

[Text] Liaoning Province is one of our country's important centers of heavy industry, being one of the earliest built with the support of the whole country. Over the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC, total capital construction investment in the whole province amounted to 34.7 billion yuan. Nearly 400 large and medium-sized enterprises have been built. The gross value of industrial output increased by more than 38 times over that of the initial period after the founding of the republic. The fixed assets of enterprises owned by the whole people amounts to 11 percent of the national total and occupies first place for the whole country. Liaoning has a relatively complete assortment of various kinds of industry, but the proportion occupied by heavy industry alone is over two-thirds. The important task before us now during the further readjustment of the national economy is how to put into full play Liaoning's superiority in heavy industry in order to upgrade the national economy.

Fully Display the Leading Role of Heavy Industry in the National Economy

With the further readjustment of the national economy, heavy industry has been downgraded in planning and its production has been on the downturn. As a result, some comrades have entertained the erroneous notion that since the readjustment of the economy called for the development of light industry, heavy industry should "stand aside." They even considered heavy industry as a heavy "burden." Indeed, in the readjustment of the national economy, should heavy industry even be developed? The answer is definitely in the affirmative. In readjustment work, that portion of heavy industry which should be suspended must be suspended while that portion which should be developed must be developed so that the heavy industrial sector can maintain a definite speed of development. Over the past 2 years, due to economic readjustment, that proportion of the national economy made up of light industry has risen while that of heavy industry has declined. This is a normal phenomenon and accords with the relationship between light industry and heavy industry. But we should not derive from this the conclusion that the lower the proportion of heavy industry the better or even the portion of the heavy industrial sector which should be further developed or which should be maintained at its present level should both be reduced in order to increase

the level of light industry. The vigorous development of light industry is entirely necessary, but without modern equipment and raw materials, it is impossible to produce modern consumer goods. In discussing the theory of social reproduction Marx said that the two big categories of social production should have a relationship of mutual dependence, balance, assistance and restriction. When expounding on the theory about the conditions for realizing expanded reproduction with the gross capital of a society when things were balanced, Marx offered the following formula: The value of the products of the first category must be equal to the value of the compensated portion of the unchanged value of the two big categories and the value of the supplementary portion of the unchanged value of the two big categories. Based on Marx' exposition on the theory of expanded reproduction, Lenin pointed out the theory of the priority development of the means of production under the conditions of technological improvement. Our own practices have also amply shown that heavy industry is the principal link of the national economy and that the development of the national economy is inseparable from the priority development of the first category.

As for Liaoning Province, production of heavy industry products must be vigorously developed in order to ensure a definite speed of development of the national economy. The reasons are: 1) Liaoning is the center of heavy industry for the whole country. Many of its products are required by the whole country. It bears the important task of supporting the economic construction of the country. The original value of the fixed assets of its heavy industry and the gross value of its industrial output each made up about 11 percent of the national total, ranking first among the provinces of the country.

The output of 35 different heavy industrial products of the province are in the front ranks of the entire nation. Over a period of 29 years, 1952 to 1980, the province exported some 28 million tons of pig iron, over 40 million tons of steel products, and over 100,000 sets of machine tools to other localities. The export of steel, aluminium, lead, zinc, soda ash and transformer sets exceeded over 50 percent of the output of these products. Failure to do a good job of promoting production of heavy industrial products of the province would affect not only the economy of the province but also the economic development of the whole country. 2) With heavy industry making up a big proportion of the economy of the province, the development of industrial production in the province depends to a large extent on heavy industry. A drop of 1 percent in the value of output of heavy industry must be compensated by an increase of at least 2 percent in the output value of light industry. Light industry cannot bear the burden of a fall in heavy industrial production, and if heavy industrial production fails to progress, the growth speed of industry as a whole will be affected. 3) Liaoning has many backbone enterprises of heavy industry. They are the economic lifeline of the country. They have enormous potentials. If they are run successfully, they can make immense contributions. The state of national finances depends primarily on these big enterprises. Of the profits remitted to the state from provincial industries, heavy industry's share is 88 percent. Remittances from the four large steel plants and the six large oil refineries account for 62 percent of the total profits remitted to the state by the state-operated enterprises in the province. Actually, if their profits were to fall, other enterprises could hardly make up for the loss. Judging from the situation in the first 8 months of this year, a drop of 1 percent in the profits tax of heavy industry will require

a growth of 7 percent in the light industry in order to make up the difference. Heavy industry not only accounts for a large share of the economy but also provides huge profits. Last year, the profits tax generated from 100 yuan of output value were as follows: light industry, 21.86 yuan; heavy industry, 27.65 yuan; and among the heavy industries, petroleum industry, 43.37 yuan and metallurgical industry, 33.78 yuan. Hence, if the production of heavy industry is increased, the financial revenue of the state will be enhanced and the national economy will be enlivened. 4) Heavy industry and light industry depend on and regulate each other. If heavy industry is not developed, light industry cannot be developed either. In the province as a whole, 45 percent of the raw materials for light industry are derived from heavy industry. Conversely, light industry also directly renders many services to heavy industry. Many small light industrial plants' role is to make accessories for large plants of the heavy industry. Therefore, if heavy industry does well in production, light industry will have the needed raw materials, equipment, and supply of energy, and will thus be enlivened. At the same time, progress made in the production of consumer goods will naturally encourage heavy industry to reorientate the direction of its services and reform the structure of its products. This literally will enable heavy industry to advance forward in the course of readjustment. 5) Heavy industry should be subjected to a concrete analysis and not be governed by a general rule. Among the products of heavy industry, some are of good quality, some are of poor quality; some have been produced in abundance while some have not. Even among the quality products, some products are still secondary in quality. For example, heavy industry in our province renders more services to itself than to agriculture, or to light industry or to the domestic and foreign markets. Our supply of energy, such as coal, electricity and crude oil, is not abundant nor very impressive. As for the metallurgical industry, the production of ordinary steel products is excessive while production of small steel products is rather scanty. According to an investigation made of the five industries and trades of metallurgy, machine-building, crude oil, petrochemicals and construction materials, currently the supply of over 150 varieties of "short-line" products lags behind demand. An increase in the production of these products not only can satisfy current demand but also can enliven the production of heavy industry. All the above illustrates that the large proportion occupied by heavy industry in the economy of the province is not a burden but represents wealth and affluence. It does not denote an inferior position but a superior position. Only in performing well the work of readjustment and production of heavy industry can there be any improvement in the entire national economy.

Correctly Shape the Direction of Services and Fully Tap the Hidden Potentials of Current Heavy Industrial Enterprises

Some comrades have shown a lack of confidence in letting heavy industry maintain a definite speed of development in the course of readjustment. Some have suggested "the direction should remain unchanged, the workers contingent should remain intact, production should continue and, generally, things should be carried out this way throughout the readjustment." These viewpoints are all erroneous. They illustrate that these comrades entertain conflicting views about the policy of further readjusting the national economy. Since the beginning of

this year, the state has readjusted the production plans of certain departments of heavy industry. This is necessary. The proper and correct attitude to assume is to take advantage of this opportune moment, correct the direction of services, reform the structure of products, and actively take up the tasks of improving the quality of products and increasing their varieties and not just idly sit around and passively wait for development. In the course of readjustment, heavy industry should not remain idle. It has a lot of potential and certainly can accomplish much. If only the objective of socialist production can be clearly understood and the direction of the services can be truly rectified so that heavy industry will serve the people's livelihood needs, serve technological restructuring and serve national defense and the export trade, then its development can surely be guaranteed.

First, we must tap the potentials of existing enterprises through the technological rebuilding or renovation of equipment. In order to maintain a definite speed of development in industrial production in our province, the key is to enliven the production of the machine-building industry. The value of output of the machine-building industry in our province amounts to 25 percent of the gross industrial output of the province. Early this year, the tasks assigned by the state amounted to only 30 percent of last year's tasks. In the first 9 months of this year, the gross value of the output of this industry dropped by 17 percent compared with the corresponding period of last year, thus affecting industries of the province as a whole. If we now grasp well the task of technologically rebuilding or renovating equipment within enterprises, not only will the urgent needs of the four modernizations be met, but also provide a way out for the machine-building industry. If the machine-building industry flourishes, the metallurgical industry will likewise be enlivened. This really represents a great potential force for the development of heavy industry. In this regard, certain enterprises have already begun to find a new way out. The Shenyang fan plant can be cited as an example. The machines formerly produced by this plant had a low efficiency rate but a high rate of electricity consumption. New models of these machines have been revised. It is found that the savings in electricity from the use of one of these new machines for only half a year would be sufficient to pay for the cost of a new machine. This agrees with the slogan that "changing an old machine for a new one makes both the manufacturer and the user happy." As a result, numerous orders were received, and a commodity which used to be sluggish in sales now enjoys flourishing sales. From 1956 to 1980, this plant produced some 4,000 sets of fans of various types. The plant now has an annual production capacity of 400 sets. This plant will spend 10 years on accomplishing the task of reforming its old facilities for producing fans. It certainly appears that all machine-building enterprises should make a technological analysis of the products they sold to their clients over the past years. If they are found to be technically backward, wasteful in energy, and low in economic effects, now during the readjustment should be the time for replacing them with new products which are structurally sound, advanced in technique, and high in economic effects. This will pave the way for an even speedier development in industrial production hereafter.

Technological rebuilding or renovation of equipment should be directed at energy conservation. In our utilization of energy, 90 percent of it passes through various kinds of machines and equipment. Unfortunately, much of our technological equipment has been like "tigers" in the consumption of oil, coal and electric power, and the effective utilization rate of the energy resources has indeed been very low. Enormous waste is frequently incurred. However, over the past 2 years, we have already rebuilt over 20 kinds of equipment of the "tiger" type, although we still must wage several wars of annihilation and strive at one stroke to have a wholesale rebuilding of the old equipment which have a high energy consumption rate. The Shenyang water pump plant, the largest in the country, recently conducted a preliminary investigation of the number of water pumps in use and found that there were approximately 3.4 million sets in use throughout the country. These pumps consumed about 20 billion kWh of electricity per year, or roughly 8.5 percent of the total annual generation of electric power within the country. But the efficiency rate of these pumps was generally lower than foreign models by 5 to 10 percent. On this basis, in a year's time the quantity of electric power consumed was 1.1 billion to 2.3 billion kWh of electricity more than foreign models. Hence, the plant proceeded first to rebuild and upgrade those old pumps which were used in large quantities and were of fairly large capacities such as those employed in the oilfields, coal mines and electric power stations. For example, they helped the Daqing oil field to plan and build two new types of water injection pumps. The result was that the efficiency rate was raised by around 10 percent. According to investigation results, the oil fields in the country currently have in use some 500 to 800 sets of these old pumps. Renovation of them not only will result in conserving large quantities of electric power, but will also enable the plant to open up a new avenue in production. The plant estimated that once this project was well grasped beginning next year, the plant could increase its annual production at an annual growth rate of 5 to 7 percent.

The work on technological rebuilding or equipment renovation must not be done in a patchwork manner. Instead, a target should be set on achieving the international advanced target level of the 1980's, and the work should be carried out in a planned and systematic manner. This requires the machine-building industry to grasp well scientific research, set up a so-called "technological reserve," and greatly improve the planning work on machines as well as raise their production level. In order to encourage the machine-building departments to raise their technological level, we should fix the technological standards for the equipment required for the renovation and rebuilding work and arrange for their production.

Second, we must tap potential by reforming the structure of products and develop new products. During the readjustment period, heavy industry faces the problem of not having enough orders although some of their products which require high precision still have too many orders. If this problem is solved well, then the prospects for heavy industry will be steadily increasing. The Dalian high pressure valve plant was originally engaged in the production of high pressure valves for industrial use. In recent years the sale of its products was sluggish. The plant then made an exhaustive survey of the petrochemical plants throughout the country. It collected detailed data on what kind of equipment the plants had, what kind of valves they used and the quantity required. In organizing production work, it insisted on the "four successes" system, namely, success through superiority and surpassing others in quality; success through completeness in variety, offering more varieties than others; success through low prices,

maintaining a small profit margin but selling more products; and success through speed in delivery of orders, meeting emergency needs without fail. Over the past 2 years, the plant successfully trial-produced over 80 varieties of new products and added over 200 new specifications. From January to July this year the plant's production of valves increased by 30 percent over that of the corresponding period last year. This literally revived the plant from near collapse. It shows that once the production services of heavy industry are put on the right track and the products are marketable, production within heavy industry will rise.

Third, we must tap the potential of comprehensive utilization, thoroughness and depth in processing, and precision in processing. Our province has many heavy industrial enterprises, including enterprises which produce raw materials and a number of large enterprises. The resources available for comprehensive utilization are vast. For example, such resources as the residual ores from our metallurgical industry, residual gas from our oil refineries, and the "three wastes" of industry, in general, were not fully utilized in the past on account of the system of division of control and our failure to pay attention to the economic effects of comprehensive utilization.

Regarding comprehensive utilization and completeness or depth in processing, the potentials of the petrochemical industry should rank foremost. According to reference materials from abroad, in the world market, the ratio of the value of raw crude oil, petrochemical products and refined products, when fully utilized, is 1:10:100. Raw crude oil valued at \$1, can produce plastics worth \$5, synthetic fiber worth \$10 and finished product worth \$100. At present, Liaoning has a crude oil processing capacity of 25 million tons, over one-third of the national total. But the comprehensive utilization rate of crude oil is very low, and there is much waste. The output value of petrochemical products derived from using crude oil as a raw material is less than 300 million yuan, or roughly 9 percent of the gross output value of the chemical industry of the province. According to an investigation, in the eight crude oil refineries of the province, by means of a second refining of crude oil, suitably raising the depth of the refining process and grasping well such comprehensive utilization measures as making use of the waste gas from the refineries and rebuilding the aromatic hydrocarbon components, we can increase the output value of these enterprises by 1.1 billion yuan a year and the profits tax by over 500 million yuan a year, which will represent, respectively, one-fifth and one-sixth of the gross value of output of the crude oil industry and profits tax of the province.

Fourth, we must tap the potential of exports in foreign trade. Heavy industry in Liaoning Province has a strong foundation but in the world market its products are few and the volume of transactions is negligible. Take the machine-building industry for example. In 1980, the total export volume of electric machinery products amounted to only 2.6 percent of the gross value of output of the machine-building industry of the whole province, whereas in industrially developed capitalist countries, the export volume of electric machinery products was around 50 to 60 percent. The products we export at present constitute mostly those after only crude processing and relatively few after precision or deep processing. Furthermore, mostly single unit machines, and few shole set machines, are exported. In fact, certain semifinished products exported by us are reexported to us after

assembling or processing in foreign countries, while single unit machines exported by us are frequently reexported to us after complete sets have been formed abroad. The losses therefrom are enormous. As a matter of fact, our province has many exportable products, and in many varieties, and indeed there is much we can do in this regard. We must be ambitious and earnestly strive to break into the world market. We must grasp the export abroad of industrial products as a strategic task.

Fifth, we must tap the potential of management and control. For a long time in the past, we became accustomed to relying on production increases to maintain and raise the level of income. Now the call to heavy industry is to reduce production without reducing the income level and, in fact, to reduce production while raising the income level. Leading comrades of the State Council have pointed out that at present in certain enterprises, particularly the large backbone enterprises, gold literally may be found everywhere and that there are great potentials. Actually, in certain enterprises, not only are there vast hidden potentials but also there exist very apparent and distinctive potentials. Just as certain comrades have said: "No need to use a spade or a pick ax; all one has to do is to bend over and pick things up." The only question is what kind of key should be used to open up the door to the hidden potentials. During the readjustment period, heavy industry should take a new road of reorganizing and improving management and control and upgrading the economic effects, and the key to opening up this door lies in putting in full play the role of economic levers and implementing a correct economic policy.

Giving Full Play to Heavy Industry's Superiority; Providing Vigorous Support to Light Industry

Our stress on grasping heavy industry does not mean that we can dispense with light industry. On the contrary, light industry must be greatly developed. In Liaoning Province, simultaneously with firmly grasping heavy industry, the vigorous development of light industry is tantamount to giving fuller play to the role of heavy industry. In Liaoning, heavy industry occupies a large portion of the economy of the province. Our cities and towns are densely populated and a large number of people are currently awaiting employment. The purchasing power of the people has all along been higher than the national average. Development of light industry will increase the production of daily-use consumer goods. It will help in meeting the livelihood needs of the people, make the market flourish, speed up currency circulation, stabilize commodity prices, provide jobs for those awaiting employment and increase the revenue for the state. In 1979 and 1980, light industry in the province achieved certain results. The gross value of output in 1978 increased by 41 percent and, in 1980, it increased by 20 percent over that of the preceding year. From January to September, there was a further increase of 13 percent. In June this year we adopted a development plan for light industry which selected 10 big trades and some 60 major products to form the pivotal center, laid stress on improving the quality of products and increasing their varieties and set a target on improving economic effects. We were determined that in the next 5 years light industry will develop at a continuous growth rate of 5 percent annually.

Development of the light industry is inseparable from the assistance provided by heavy industry. Production of the means of production should not only be for the purpose of meeting the production needs of the production department itself but also to meet the needs of those departments which produce consumer goods and require more of the means of production. The ultimate purpose of socialist production is to satisfy the livelihood needs of the people. The heavy industry of our province accounts for a large proportion of its economy, has a strong foundation and is capable of supplying a large quantity of means of production for the production of consumer goods. This provides an advantageous condition for the development of light industry. Over the past 2 years, the heavy industrial cities of our province such as Shenyang, Anshan, Fushun and Dalian have achieved notable results in their activities aiming at the target of "heavy industry helping light industry promoting heavy industry." The experience and methodology of these activities were mainly the following: 1) Organizing heavy industrial enterprises to provide the textile and electronics industries with advanced technical equipment and model tools, thus speeding up the steps in the technological restructuring of light industrial enterprises. 2) Organizing heavy industrial enterprises to provide the textile and electronics industries with large quantities of raw materials which are good in quality and conform with the prescribed specifications; a portion of steel products and petrochemical raw materials are provided to them from a fixed source of production and supply, thus building up firm cooperative relationships. 3) Organizing heavy industrial enterprises to assist light industrial enterprises to solve technological problems and overcome technological problems. 4) Organizing those heavy industrial enterprises which have the necessary conditions to directly manufacture daily-use consumer goods and which possess more or less similar production techniques and raw materials as light industries. 5) Transferring to the textile and electronics industrial system a portion of the heavy industrial enterprises which have become idle, or have no prospects for the future, or are fit for use in light industrial production and thus reinforcing the technical backing to light industry. 6) Organizing a number of heavy industrial and light industrial enterprises for economic cooperation centered on the production of key light industrial products; carrying out production cooperation on the "one dragon" thesis. 7) Transferring from large heavy industrial plants technical personnel and management cadres to help certain light industrial enterprises to reinforce their technical capabilities and to reorganize and improve their operation and management. In general, the adoption of these measures has helped, on the one hand, to solve the key problems in light industrial production which have been long standing and, on the other hand, to open up a new service area for heavy industry. It is beneficial to coordinating the relationship between light industry and heavy industry and promoting the overall development of industry in general.

LAW AND FREEDOM

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[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061] and Zhou Yuanqing [0719 0337 7230]]

[Text] Recently some people have advanced various "arguments," preaching "absolute freedom" unrestricted by law. Such a view is wrong. Does socialist law impede or safeguard citizens' rights of political freedom? Should a country with a people's democratic dictatorship provide counterrevolutionaries with freedom of speech? Is there any freedom of speech in our society? Without thoroughly clarifying these problems, it is impossible for us to correctly carry forward socialist democracy and improve the socialist legal system. If we do not do this, the present political situation of stability and unity will be harmed.

Marxists maintain that freedom belongs to the realm of the superstructure and that it is characterized by a class nature. In a country with a bourgeois dictatorship, actually there is only bourgeois freedom, but the broad masses of laboring people do not enjoy any freedom. In a country with a people's democratic dictatorship, freedom belongs to the great majority of people, including workers, peasants, intellectuals and other laborers as well as patriotic personages. In such a country, citizens enjoy profound and extensive political freedom which is beyond the reach of capitalist countries. The proletarian political party leads the people to build socialism. Only by truly protecting people's rights of freedom and democracy, can it fully arouse the initiative, enthusiasm and creativity of the broad masses of people in speeding up the construction of the new society.

Some people might say: Since this is the case, why should we need law? Once we formulate law and stress the importance of observing law, will the freedom of citizens be restricted? It is true that certain "freedom" will be restricted. However, such a restriction will enable all citizens to exercise their rights of freedom in a fuller, more extensive and more effective way. Basically speaking, under the socialist system the state law and citizens' freedom are unified and they do not oppose each other.

Why?

First, strictly observing law is citizens' basic duty. This practice is identical and closely related with citizens' rights to enjoy political freedom. For example, if one wants to enjoy freedom of speech, one should fulfill the duty of not slandering others and fabricating rumors to mislead people. If one wants to enjoy the right of personal freedom, one should perform the duty of not infringing on other people's personal freedom. If one wants to enjoy the right of labor, one should observe rules and regulations and labor discipline and follow the guidance of management personnel. Only by unifying and correlating rights and duty, can we establish, consolidate and develop public morality, public order and public interests of the socialist society and ensure that every citizen will fully enjoy his personal political freedom. Under the socialist system, the nature of the system itself and the identity of the basic interests of the state and people have determined the unity of the rights and duty of the people. Under the capitalist system, the interests of the country's exploiting class are diametrically opposed to those of the laboring people. However, in our society citizens can fully enjoy their rights and perform their duties. This shows the close integration of the interests of the state and the individual. The fact that our citizens correctly exercise their rights of political freedom and faithfully perform their duty of observing the law is determined by the basic interests of the state. This is also determined by the basic interests of each and every citizen.

Second, a revolutionary legal system is an important means for maintaining social order and a reliable guarantee that citizens' rights of political freedom will not be infringed or abused. Social order and security are basic conditions which guarantee that citizens will enjoy and exercise their rights of political freedom. It seems that those who advocate extreme democracy and absolute freedom and refuse to obey the law enjoy their freedom. But, in fact, they do not enjoy their freedom at all. Since they obstruct social order and security, they will not be able to attain freedom for themselves. Since they do not observe the law which protects other people's security, their security will not be protected by the law either. Since they have the freedom to ruin other people's freedom randomly and to rape women, this means that they have divested these victims of their freedom. However, these criminals will eventually lose their freedom because none of them will escape being punished by law. Therefore, only by daring to use, and being good at using, the weapon of law to resolutely strike relentless blows at various criminal elements and maintain social order, can we effectively protect citizens' rights to enjoy their freedom. Under the socialist system, one of the important reason why we should use the form of law to explicitly and specifically stipulate citizens' rights for political freedom is that we want to protect citizens' rights for political freedom from being violated or abused. Only by resolutely vindicating the authority of the socialist legal system and giving full play to its role, can we effectively struggle against anarchist acts of fabricating rumors to mislead the masses, making trouble and sabotaging the normal order of work, production, scientific research and life under the banner of "democracy" and "freedom." Only by so doing, can we simultaneously stop and punish illegal and criminal activities to safeguard citizens' rights of democracy and freedom.

Third, improving the revolutionary legal system is an important means for developing economy and culture. Only by strictly acting in accordance with law can we safeguard citizens' rights of political freedom which they are extensively enjoying. In any society, citizens' rights of political freedom are restricted by the level of development of the economy and culture. Due to the nature and characteristics of the socialist system, the economic and cultural development of the socialist society does not serve the exploiting class, but directly benefits the broad masses of people. Therefore, the higher the level of socialist material and spiritual civilization the citizens build, the more extensive and substantial will be their rights of political freedom. For example, the fact that our constitution does not provide citizens with the right of moving from one place to another is because of the restriction of our economic development. Actually, citizens' enjoyment and specific use of their freedom of speech, assembly, press, association, scientific research and the creation of literary and artistic works are restricted by the development levels of science, culture, political ideology and moral principle of the entire society. Therefore, only by conscientiously vindicating the socialist legal authority, can we extensively promote the development of the economy and culture and ensure that citizens will enjoy more individual freedom.

Therefore, it is obvious that under the socialist system, law and freedom are highly unified. The improvement of the revolutionary legal system will never curb citizens' freedom. On the contrary, it will fully ensure that citizens may amply enjoy and exercise their rights of political freedom. In a certain sense, without the socialist legal system, there will be no socialist freedom.

Some people admit that freedom is restricted by law to a certain extent. However, they also believe that freedom of speech is an exception. For instance, some people say: "The vital significance of freedom of speech lies in the fact that people will not be convicted no matter what they say." To them, even those people who express counterrevolutionary views and ideas should not be punished in accordance with law. In this respect, they put forth various "arguments." We believe that these "arguments" are not tenable.

Their first argument is: Those who express erroneous views or ideas should not be punished in accordance with law and only those who commit crimes can be dealt with according to law. They say: "Anyway, the practices of not blaming those who speak out and severely punishing only those who commit crimes are not mutually exclusive." It is obvious that they totally separate erroneous views from erroneous acts and completely deny the interrelations between these two matters. This is not the case. Words and speeches are a means of expressing ideas. Generally speaking, by using their speeches and words, people express their ideas in both verbal and written forms. We should make a specific analysis to determine whether these two forms of expressing ideas will constitute a kind of social behavior or act. For example, sentences written in a diary are not spread or propagated ideas, because only the writer knows them. Therefore, they are not to be regarded as social behavior or acts. In other words, those who write counterrevolutionary sentences or views in their diaries should not be legally punished like those who spread counterrevolutionary propaganda. Of course, it is our duty to educate and reform those who possess reactionary ideas so that they will change their stand and world outlook. But this is another

matter. In our criminal law, there is a definite legal definition for the concept of counterrevolutionary views and ideas, which is based not only on "subjective intention" but also on "objective harmful effects brought to the society." When one spreads one's views and words through certain means under certain circumstances, such as making speeches and talking, or writing and propagating articles, what one has done should be regarded as a kind of social behavior or act. Now some people maintain that even those who spread counterrevolutionary ideas and views should not be punished in accordance with law. These "views and ideas" actually belong to those which have been spread on purpose. Of course, it is wrong not to regard the practice of spreading these views and ideas as a kind of social behavior or act. Therefore, moved to action by counterrevolutionary motives, some people use various ways of carrying out counterrevolutionary agitation which harms the interests of the state and the people. Therefore, these counterrevolutionary views and ideas should be regarded as counterrevolutionary acts. It is absolutely right for us to punish those criminals who spread such ideas and views in accordance with article 102 of our criminal law.

The second argument is that "penalizing what is said still has its own problem and it is hard to solve. It is the problem of defining a criterion." In their opinion, laws must be clearly defined and put in concrete terms. Only in this way can they avoid being freely interpreted. What is after all the counter-revolutionary crime of instigation? There is not a given criterion. Therefore, if we take counterrevolutionary speeches as a target of attack, as far as the law is concerned, we are liable to penalize all dissenting ideas and speeches as counterrevolutionary ones. This "argument" cannot hold water. Everyone knows that laws must be clearly defined and put in concrete terms. This is right. But the clear and realistic nature of legal provisions can only be relative and cannot possibly be absolute. Things are complicated and everchanging. It is impossible for us to demand that laws be put in more detailed and concrete terms in order to be all the better. Therefore, after being made as clear and concrete as possible, legal provisions can only be relatively abstract and relatively inclusive. We admit that the line of distinction between acts of a criminal or noncriminal nature is a very complicated problem. One of the main reasons is that the distinction between things of any kind is relative. However, the distinction between acts of a criminal or noncriminal nature is relative and unclear and at the same time absolute and clear-cut. To admit the former is to avoid being subjective and one-sided in cognition. To admit the latter is to avoid being bogged down in agnosticism in cognition. According to the Marxist theory of knowledge, the absolute and definite nature of the line of distinction between acts of a criminal or noncriminal nature can be correctly understood and grasped entirely. In our country, what constitutes a counter-revolutionary crime of instigation is precisely defined. Revolutionary speeches of course cannot be treated as counterrevolutionary ones. Where the wrong things are said or even reactionary views are aired, so long as the author is not motivated by the aim to overthrow the regime of the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist system or to harm the PRC, he cannot be found guilty of airing counterrevolutionary views. In distinguishing between acts of a criminal or noncriminal nature, we must persist in "taking facts as a basis and the law as the criterion," seriously make investigations and studies, avoid being subjective and one-sided and carried away by emotions, refrain from passing

hasty judgments, strictly grasp the theory about what constitutes a crime and realistically enforce actual provisions in the penal code about counter-revolutionary crimes. So long as we do so, we can correctly distinguish in principle wrong and even reactionary views and counterrevolutionary views. Of course, the criterion for a counterrevolutionary crime of instigation is relatively difficult to grasp. This is a fact. But this fact can only serve to explain why in treating cases of this kind, we must exercise great care. It can never be taken as the basis for argument that counterrevolutionary views should not be made punishable by law.

The third argument is: Some people say that if those people who air counter-revolutionary views are punished according to the law, no one will dare speak out, leaving the right of freedom of speech for the majority of people unprotected. On the very contrary, denying freedom for the airing of counterrevolutionary views is precisely aimed at protecting the citizens' right to exercise the freedom of speech. This is because only by clearly providing for the prohibition of counter-revolutionary views legally and making counterrevolutionary views punishable by law can we smash the criminal aim of counterrevolutionaries to overthrow the socialist system by exploiting freedom of speech and basically guarantee and consolidate the political status of the people as masters of the house. Only in this way can we keep the people from being victimized and vilified by counterrevolutionaries and protect their political and personal freedom and safety. Only in this way can we support the masses of people in their initiative and enthusiasm to wage a struggle against counterrevolutionaries and offer them the legal weapon and legal protection in waging such a struggle. In addition, only in this way can the masses of people feel that our country is really protecting them. Thus, they will greatly strengthen their sense as masters of the house and raise their enthusiasm, show concern for national affairs and have the courage to air various views and suggestions. Numerous facts show that in prohibiting counterrevolutionary views, we must really achieve the aim of being accurate and mindful of the law and refrain from doing an injustice to the people and wronging good persons. So long as we do so, the masses of people will never feel that they are being restricted in any way in their freedom of speech.

From this, we can see that the viewpoint that freedom of speech can be exercised without restraint of law and that even counterrevolutionary views should not be made punishable by law is very wrong. This viewpoint runs counter to the Marxist theory on the state and is treating law and freedom from a supraclass viewpoint. If we act on the basis of such a viewpoint, the people's regime cannot be consolidated and the socialist cause will suffer extremely great harm.

Some people say that though under different social systems, freedom of speech must be subjected to the restraints of law, yet the freedom of speech in our country is far from being as great as in capitalist states. This is an idea suggestive of confusion. Both law and freedom are restrained by given social economic relations and class interests. No ruling class allows the ruled class to use law and freedom to basically ruin its economic foundation and political rule. The capitalist law is an embodiment of bourgeois will and a tool for the exploiters to rule the people. Bourgeois freedom is a product of capitalist relations of production and a political reflection of free competition in

production, free sale of products and free trading in labor. From its very birth, bourgeois freedom has partaken of such a dual nature. On the one hand, it is a negation of old feudal slavery. On the other, it is an affirmation of new capital slavery. Just as Lenin said, "With ownership of the means of production and political power under the control of the exploiters, real freedom and real equality for the exploited or the great majority of residents are just out of the question." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 349) In capitalist countries, law and freedom serve the protection of the capitalist system of private ownership. In the socialist country, law and freedom serve the establishment, protection and development of the system of public ownership of means of production. Just because of this fundamental difference, basically different conditions and characteristics also exist in the mutual relations between law and freedom. Capitalist law protects bourgeois freedom in practicing economic exploitation and exercising political rule and restricts the laboring people's freedom to rid themselves of exploitation and oppression. The aim is to perpetuate capitalism. On the other hand, socialist law protects the freedom of the masses of people to carry out socialist revolution and construction and restricts the freedom of an extremely small number of reactionaries in their vain attempt to overthrow the socialist economic systems and political system. The ultimate aim is to bring a communist society into being. Therefore, a comparison between capitalist society and socialist society is, first of all, not a matter of where freedom is greater or less. Instead, it is a question of which class freedom belongs to and what kind of an economic system it serves.

Some people also say that though our constitution provides for freedom of speech, such freedom has never been actually exercised. This is of course very absurd. In our country with a population of over 900 million and several tens of million minorities, people have widely exercised their own right to freedom of speech through various means. This is an ironclad fact. Is it not freedom of speech when millions upon millions of people are fervently discussing, through various kinds of meetings, major national issues in the political, economic, cultural, educational and other fields and fully airing their own views? Is it not freedom of speech when several hundreds of newspapers and up to one thousand kinds of magazines are contending and unfolding a debate on numerous major problems concerning theory and practice, such as the criterion for testing truth, the purpose of production, autonomy for enterprises, distribution according to labor, democracy and the legal system, the educational system, literary and art creation, the meaning of life, and so forth? Is it not freedom of speech when the masses of cadres and people, through letters and visits and through newspapers, magazines, television broadcasts and other media, are criticizing the shortcomings and mistakes of party and government organizations at all levels and their workers and putting forward suggestions on work in various fields? Is it not freedom of speech when the people's deputies at congresses at all levels are airing their own views and talking freely on the formulation and implementation of major national policies? Why is it that some people turn a blind eye to all this or write all this off as not being a manifestation of freedom of speech? The problem lies in their having a totally different understanding of what is, after all, freedom of speech. Some people think that so-called freedom of speech means "speaking without being subjected to criticism, and airing counterrevolutionary views without being punished by law. True, there is no such "freedom of speech" in our country, nor can it be allowed to exist. Therefore, it is incompatible with the nature of our system, contrary to the people's will and harmful to national interests.

We admit that our citizens have not exercised their right of freedom of speech very fully. This is because as far as putting political rights, including freedom of speech, in the form of law or a system, and some concrete measures for their realization are concerned, the leadership must go through a process of continuously raising their awareness and gradually accumulating experiences. Meanwhile, the process of realizing any political right is always restrained by economic and cultural conditions. The economic and cultural levels of our country are relatively low. Especially among the ranks of our cadres and in society, the remnant poison of despotism of a certain kind and anarchism is still exerting an influence. The phenomenon of some people discouraging and suppressing the citizens in their exercise of freedom of speech still exists in our state's political life. The party and government have taken and will continue to take various measures to resolutely fight this and other phenomena. But basically solving this problem involves a long process. In our country, the degree of realization of freedom of speech is still not very satisfactory. However, we cannot after all deny the fundamental fact that our citizens generally enjoy freedom of speech--freedom of speech which is basically different from "freedom of speech" in capitalist states and which is more penetrating in degree and more extensive in scope.

DEVELOP FRESHWATER BREEDING AND BRING ABOUT A PROSPEROUS RURAL ECONOMY

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[Text]

I

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have implemented the policy of readjustment in the aquatic products industry. While doing a good job of protecting offshore aquatic resources and improving the quality and quantity of fish products, we have also energetically developed freshwater and seawater breeding and achieved initial results. The output of freshwater breeding has recorded large consecutive annual increases over the past 2 years. The output in 1979 registered an increase of 6.7 percent over that of 1978. Last year's output was 901,000 tons, which represents an increase of 10.8 percent over that of 1979. Fourteen provinces and municipalities within the country have broken their previous records in freshwater breeding output.

Freshwater breeding, primarily the breeding of fish, shrimps and crabs, has a very long history in China. There is written evidence of freshwater breeding from as early as the latter years of the Shang dynasty and the early years of the Zhou dynasty in the 11th century BC. After Fan Li, a minister of the state of Yue, had helped the Yue emperor Gou Jian defeat the Wu emperor Fu Chia, he retired, went to Wuxi and earned his living by breeding carp. The "Classic on How To Breed Fish," said to be written by him, was the first specialized writing on fish breeding in the world. Since liberation, with the care and support of the party and the people's government, China's freshwater breeding has further developed. Fish are no longer bred only in small ponds and rivers. Some lakes and reservoirs covering thousands or tens of thousands of mu have also been used for breeding fish. Fish breeding areas, which were previously found only in the lower reaches of the Changjiang River and the Zhujiang River, have now been expanded to cover most provinces in the country. The total output of freshwater fish in 1959 had increased by 236.2 percent over that of 1950.

However, owing to the influence of the leftist ideology and the undue emphasis on "taking grain as the key link in agriculture," beginning in the 1960's large areas of lakes were reclaimed to enlarge fields, ponds were destroyed and grain was grown. Places where fish laid eggs and grew were destroyed. Worse still, water conservation projects were built, dams and sluiceways were constructed, fishways were not maintained and water was polluted by industry.

All this severely damaged fish resources. During the 10 years of turmoil, the anarchist ideological trend ran amok, production order was thrown into confusion. Fish stealing, fish poisoning and dynamite fishing assumed serious proportions, intensifying the sabotage of natural resources. Consequently, the catch sharply dropped. The annual output dropped from the 600,000 tons in the early 1950's to 300,000 tons. Also during this period, breeding made no progress. The total output of freshwater fish in China in 1969 fell by 30.6 percent compared with that of 1959.

In accordance with the spirit of the third plenary session, the national aquatic products work conference held in February 1979 formulated the policy of readjustment in aquatic products work and decided to energetically develop seawater and freshwater breeding while paying attention to rationally utilizing resources and improving the quality and quantity of fish. Over the past 2 years, owing to emancipation of the mind and relaxation of policy, the breeding industry has rapidly developed, a situation in which the state, the collective and the individual are benefited has emerged, and the cities which have long been short of fish now have more supplies. Guangzhou Municipality, with its 2.2 million people, has a great demand for aquatic products. The masses there are particularly fond of fresh pond fish. Before 1979, the conflict between supply and demand was intense. Despite the call for breeding fish in those years, the result was unsatisfactory because the policy was wrong. Last year, the provincial CCP committee and the people's government decided to energetically develop the breeding industry, relax the policies and improve the situation. In 1980, the quantity of aquatic products on the market was increased by 19 percent over that of the previous year. Aquatic products on the market have increased not only in quantity but also in variety and have improved in quality. Live pond fish and fresh river fish have, in the past 10-odd years, once again appeared on the market and the masses were quite happy about this. The city of Jiamusi in Heilongjiang Province carried out artificial breeding in a water area of 1,604 mu. It harvested more than 370,000 jin of fish last year and the masses have thus been able to eat locally bred fresh fish.

Energetically developing fresh water breeding in line with local conditions also promotes the development of agriculture and other undertakings. It is beneficial to the ecological balance and the establishment of a favorable cycle. Doumen County in Guangdong, situated in the Zhoujiang delta, has approximately 500,000 mu of cultivated land. However, most of this is low-lying land where waterlogging once posed a great threat to agriculture. The per-mu yield of paddyfields was less than 500 or 600 jin, the per-mu output of sugarcane was less than 2 tons and the commune members had a low income. While readjusting the agricultural structure, the people there made arrangements for the production of rice, sugarcane and fish in the ratio of 7:2:1 respectively. They dug fish ponds in low-lying areas and used the earth dug out to construct raised fields. This increased the output of grain and sugarcane and achieved good results. Production teams which dug out fish ponds and constructed raised fields had a per-mu rice yield of over 800 jin; some even had over 1,000 jin. The per-mu yield of sugarcane was also increased to 4 tons and that of fish to 300 jin. The average per capita income of the county increased from 78 yuan in 1978 to 182 yuan in 1980, an increase of 1.3 times.

Sichuan, Guangdong and Hunan have a tradition of breeding fish in paddyfields. As early as the Period of the Three Kingdoms, there are records of fish breeding in paddyfields. According to the "Foods of the Four Seasons in the Reign of the Emperor Wu of the Wei Dynasty," "In Pixian County, there is a kind of small fish with yellow scales and a red tail. When collected, it can be used to make sauce." Also in his "Ling Biao Lu Yi," Liu Xun of the Tang dynasty said: "When there is spring rain, and when water accumulates in the hills, buy some grass carp fry and put them into the paddyfields. Within 1 or 2 years, the fish will grow up and eat all the grass roots in these fields. This prepares the fields and breeds the fish. When we grow rice, the fields will be free of weeds. This is the best method to improve the livelihood of the people." In recent years, some southern provinces and municipalities in our country have greatly developed fish breeding in paddyfields. Last year in Sichuan, the area of paddyfields used for fish breeding was 1.6 million mu, an increase of 60 percent over that of the previous year. More than 64 million tons of fish were produced, constituting 15 percent of the province's total output of aquatic products. The average per-mu yield of rice from the paddyfields used for fish breeding increased by about 10 percent. The masses praised this method and said: "Several tens of yuan from every mu of paddyfield--we earn money and fertilize the land." Some localities implement the "triple combination" of planting mulberries, keeping silkworms and breeding fish, or the "triple combination" of growing vegetables, rearing pigs and breeding fish. In this way, fishing, planting and animal husbandry are organically integrated. They promote one another, develop simultaneously, and establish a new ecological balance and beneficial cycle.

The development of freshwater breeding has also directly provided funds for agricultural mechanization and other sideline occupations. The Shiyue production brigade of Xishui County, Hubei, has a water surface area of 160 mu, which is equivalent to 5 percent of its cultivated land. The brigade has used these water areas for fish breeding and achieved a per-mu yield of 1,000 jin for 9 consecutive years. Over the past 20 years, the brigade has gained a profit of 640,000 yuan from the production of fish. It has spent 550,000 yuan of its profit on the purchase of agricultural machinery. As a result, it has basically achieved mechanization in farmwork and in the processing of agricultural sideline products. It has also used the funds provided by fishing to develop forestry, animal husbandry, industry and sideline occupations. Moreover, the fish ponds also supply the farmland with more than 200,000 dan of high quality pond sludge, which is used as manure. Thus, it has achieved a per-mu yield of 2,000 jin in grain for 8 consecutive years. The bumper harvest in grain and the prosperity of the fishing industry has changed this impoverished area into one richly endowed with fish and rice.

The Potou commune of Hanshou County in Hunan Province, situated beside Dongting Lake, has fertile land, a vast expanse of water and rich resources. As early as 10 years ago, it had a per-mu yield of grain of more than 1,000 jin. However, owing to the concentration on grain production, 70 percent of the commune's production teams needed the state's assistance in distribution. In 1976, the commune owed the state over 1.5 million yuan; 3,500 households had overspent and incurred debts. In recent years, the commune has readjusted the ratio of

farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery, fixed the areas for planting grain, built fishponds on more than 800 mu, planted lotus and reared ducks, and developed sideline occupations and a diversified economy. The commune's income in 1979 increased by 4.1 million yuan over that of 1976 and provided funds for agricultural development. The per capita income of commune members in 1979 was more than 150 yuan, double that of 1976.

Developing freshwater breeding is an important means of expanding the collective economy and increasing commune members' income. The Kezhuang production team of Jintan County, Jiangsu Province, breeds fish and cultivates pearls in a pond covering 1.5 mu. The Dongfanghong production brigade of Wujin County allocates 122 mu of water area for fish breeding, and obtains more than 1,600 yuan from each mu of water area. Thus, the income from each mu of water area is equivalent to that from 10 mu of cultivated land. Through breeding fish and growing pearls, the per capita income of this brigade's commune members has increased by 90 yuan a year. In addition to fulfilling the state's purchase quota, the brigade privately sold more than 40,000 jin of the harvested fish and supplied each commune member with 22 jin of fish every year. Qidong County in Hunan Province has allocated 58,000 mu of ponds and reservoirs to fish breeding. The output of fish in 1980 was 12.4 million jin, worth more than 5 million yuan. The per capita income of the agricultural population in the county was increased by 8 yuan a year. The commune members said, "A small pond is better than a small bank."

II

Although China's freshwater breeding has developed quite rapidly over the past 2 years, it still has great potential because full play has not been given to its superior features. First, the vast expanse of waters have not been fully utilized. China has one of the largest areas of fresh water in the world. Throughout the country, there are rivers, lakes, ponds and reservoirs covering an area of more than 250 million mu. Of these, 75 million mu can be used for artificial breeding. As science develops, the area of usable waters will continue to expand. At present, more than 40 million mu, or 57 percent, of the usable waters are used for breeding. A considerably large area of usable waters is not in use. For example, in Hubei Province, which has favorable breeding conditions, only 4 million out of the 7 million mu of usable water areas are used. Many small reservoirs can be used for breeding if they are slightly altered. Some can even be converted into fishponds for intensive breeding of high quality fish. As another example, a district in Ningxia channels water from the Huanghe River to irrigate its fields. It has about 100,000 mu of usable water area. In this district, the Yinchuan suburban areas and Helan and Yongning counties, which are under the jurisdiction of Yinchuan Municipality, have about 40,000 mu of water area. Only 6,800 mu are in use while more than 30,000 mu remain unused.

Second, the water areas which are in use have a great disparity in output. Most of them have a low yield. In China, the current average per-mu yield of freshwater breeding is 42 jin. The average per-mu yield of fish breeding in ponds is 100 jin, while the average in Guangdong Province is 346 jin. Quite a

large number of communes and production brigades in China have a per-mu yield of more than 1,000 jin. The per-mu yield of fish breeding in China's reservoirs is only 11.5 jin, but that of the Qingshan reservoir in Zhejiang Province and that of the Zhongying reservoir in Shaanxi Province is 80 to 90 jin. The per-mu yield of fish breeding in China's lakes is 18 jin 6 liang. However, lakes including Jinji Lake, Cao Lake and Dushu Lake in Suzhou Prefecture of Jiangsu Province all have an area of over tens of thousands of mu and produce tens of thousands of dan of fish.

In order to give full play to the superior features of breeding and to accelerate production, it is necessary to seriously study the potential of different water areas and different localities for increasing production and to study the ways of developing and using them. It is also necessary to focus our work in line with local conditions so that we can achieve the maximum economic results with our limited manpower, materials and financial resources. In the whole country, ponds constitute only 30 percent of the total breeding areas, but their output constitutes 70 percent of the total. The technique of fish breeding in ponds is one of China's traditional superior features. Most small water areas are in communes or brigades. They are easy to manage and can be used for intensive breeding and high production. Their current per-mu yield is 5 times that of lakes and 8 times that of reservoirs. They have great potential for increasing production and are stable and reliable. Therefore, we should give top priority to ponds when we are trying to accelerate the development of breeding. The key to fish breeding in medium-sized lakes and reservoirs of about 10,000 mu lies in properly handling the economic interests of the communes, brigades and various other units in the vicinity, in taking the road of cooperation, in constructing a system in support of the fish breeding industry and in increasing production through extensive breeding. In this way, the development will have good prospects. We should continue to sum up and popularize the successful experiences of various localities in order to achieve even better results. In both the technological and management aspects, conditions for breeding in large lakes and reservoirs of more than 100,000 mu are not satisfactory. At present, our main task is to strengthen the management of the fishery industry and to do a good job in protecting the conditions of reproduction and in the artificial reproduction of resources. From the viewpoint of the localities, we should not do things in an arbitrarily uniform manner because our country is so large, natural conditions differ greatly from one locality to another, water areas are varied in types and the bases for breeding are different. For example, key production areas which have a solid base for breeding should take intensive breeding and high production in small water areas as their main task. Simultaneously, they should pay attention to extensive breeding and increasing production in medium-sized waters. The localities where breeding is being developed from scratch should first of all mobilize the masses, use the rural puddles and ponds which are easy to manage and good for breeding, and then gradually develop other waters. In places where there are flood lands and low-lying lands, we can convert the low-yield fields and build new bases for merchandising fish through integrating it with the readjustment of the agricultural structure. In some paddy rice flatlands, we can develop fish breeding in rice paddies. Thus, we will greatly enhance the production level of freshwater breeding within a short period of time. If we basically utilize all waters for breeding fish and if the output of all units reaches an advanced level, the output of freshwater fish in China will double.

III

In order to develop freshwater breeding, it is necessary to give full play to the superior features of the waters. At present, we must pay attention to solving the following problems:

1. Enhance people's understanding of the significance of freshwater breeding.

The erroneous guiding ideology of stressing grain production and neglecting a diversified economy, which took shape over a long period of time, has now been greatly changed. However, the influence of this leftist ideology has not been thoroughly eliminated among some of our comrades. In some localities, water areas account for one-tenth, one-fifth or more of the total cultivated land. These localities should be places rich in fish and rice; however, the leadership of these localities do not pay much attention to fish. Therefore, in order to develop the breeding industry and fully utilize the waters, we must further eliminate this erroneous ideology of stressing grain production and neglecting a diversified economy. We should treat all fields, soils, mountains and waters as treasures and thoroughly change the phenomenon of "investigating the responsibility for 1 mu of wasteland, but showing no concern for 10,000 mu of wasted waters" which existed in the past. We should pay attention to the utilization of both water and land. We should provide breeding with the necessary support in organizational construction and in labor, material and financial resources.

2. Earnestly implement the principles and policies of the central authorities..

Relax the policies, fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all parties, take collective breeding by communes and brigades as the key link, and persist in the simultaneous development of the state, the collective and the individual. At present, collective breeding production accounts for 90 percent of the country's total breeding production. Besides fully utilizing waters, developing collective breeding also facilitates the arrangement of surplus labor forces, saves state investment, and achieves greater results in a shorter time. For example, Qidong County in Hunan Province has persisted in the development of fish breeding by communes and brigades and has utilized up to 90 percent of its waters. Hence production has also rapidly increased. In 1980, the average per-mu yield of its 46,000 mu of pools and ponds reached 259 jin, making it a high-production model in fish breeding in the province.

In developing collective breeding by communes and brigades, we must first clearly define the rights of ownership and utilization of the stable water areas. Those which have been defined in the past should not be too readily altered, while those which have not been defined should be defined as soon as possible. State-owned areas may be run by the state or jointly run by the state and communes and brigades, or may be used by communes and brigades. Water areas under collective ownership should be managed by the communes and brigades of the locality, or jointly managed by the state and the communes or brigades. Water areas which extend across boundaries should be managed by various forms of joint management as negotiated by the parties concerned or as organized by the superior leading

departments, in accordance with the principles of benefiting production development, benefiting unity, and taking into consideration both fishery and farming. The scattered small ponds which are unsuitable for collective management may be put under commune members' individual management. In addition, we have to establish and strengthen different forms of the production responsibility system. The breeding production responsibility system should adopt flexible and diversified forms according to the actual situation. Specialized farms and teams in concentrated production areas can sign contracts with work groups for specialized production, fix rewards and compensation, and link remuneration with output. The vast rural areas engaged in fish breeding can sign contracts with or fix rewards for teams, households and personnel in specialized fields. We can fix output quotas in accordance with the conditions of different ponds or bid for contractors. These contracts can change once a year or remain unchanged for several years.

Actively encourage and support fish breeding by commune families. According to incomplete statistics for 5 provinces, 1 million peasant families are engaged in fish breeding. In 1980, the number of commune families breeding fish in Jiangxi Province grew to more than 300,000, which constituted 6 percent of the province's peasant households. Apart from assigning scattered waters, which were not easy for the collective to manage, to commune members as "private ponds," Jiangxi Province also allows commune members to excavate small fish ponds in their private plots or around their houses, or on land declared unsuitable for farming by the brigade. The collective gives priority to meeting the commune members' need for fry and species of fish. With regard to fish-breeding households which were in difficulties, the collective and the bank provide the necessary aid.

Being the backbone of the freshwater breeding industry, the state-owned enterprises should work hard to fulfill the task of providing the state with commodity fish. In addition, they should from now on treat supporting and promoting fish breeding by rural communes and brigades and commune members as their own main business activity. For example, they should supply high quality fry and species of fish, pass on techniques, prevent and treat fish diseases, help to improve administration and management, engage in joint operations with communes and brigades, and so on.

Continue to implement the policy of purchasing aquatic products at negotiated prices. Correct purchase and marketing prices can effectively promote the development of production. The former purchase and marketing method of a state monopoly of aquatic products hindered, to a certain extent, the circulation of commodities and adversely affected the development of production. Since the third plenary session, we have practiced the method of combining assigned state purchase and purchase at negotiated prices. Thus, enthusiasm in fish breeding has been aroused, the market has become brisk and production has increased. This shows that we should continue to seriously implement these policies. The freshwater breeding purchase policy should be further relaxed. Some products from the commodity bases of aquatic breeding and from the specialized areas which the state supports and invests in should be purchased in accordance with an assigned quota. However, products of commune

and brigade sideline occupations and of commune members' households should not be purchased in accordance with an assigned quota. In purchasing aquatic products, the state should in turn, in equal proportion to the purchases, supply feed, fertilizers and other materials required by the fishing industry. We should persist in having a large number of channels and a small number of links in the circulation of aquatic products. The aquatic products supply and marketing enterprises should enthusiastically support and do organizational work so as to establish a close relationship between production and marketing and to encourage the selling of live fish on the market.

Properly solve the problem of breeding and feed. Along with the expansion of breeding waters and the promotion of the level of intensive breeding and high production, breeding and feed have become an outstanding contradiction in the development of freshwater breeding. Without resolving this contradiction, expansion of breeding waters and promotion of production will not be achieved. While stressing the establishment of bases for fry production and for increasing the number of fine varieties, we should also mobilize the masses to cultivate fish by themselves. As we do in pig raising and domestic fowl raising, we should properly solve the problem of feed in fish breeding. Like other domestic livestock, a fish has a mouth and it has to eat. "When water is extremely clean, fish cannot live in it." Production cannot be increased when breeding takes place in extremely clean water. Feed used by the state-owned fish farms in cultivating parent fish and fry should be supplied by the state; communes and brigades should retain feed grain for breeding fish and allocate land for growing feed. We should encourage the breeding units to plant feed in unused land at the sides of pools. Products of this land should not be purchased by the state and should not be considered in calculating the grain ration. In places where the relevant conditions are met, feed bases or feed processing plants should be established. In addition, it is necessary to mobilize the masses to diversify the sources of feed. In recent years, certain scientific research units have cooperated with production units in actively carrying out research on fish feed in accordance with local conditions, and have achieved satisfactory results. They have initially overcome the difficulty of insufficient feed for local fish breeding. We should energetically sum up these experiences and popularize them.

3. Pay attention to studying the achievements in applied aquatic science and technology and to popularizing fish breeding technology.

Science and technology contribute to the productive forces. Since the third plenary session, we have implemented different forms of production responsibility systems. The masses of communes and brigades in the rural areas have consciously studied the techniques of fish breeding and practiced scientific fish breeding, thereby increasing production by a big margin. The current problems are:

1. the consciousness of some of our leaders in the administrative departments lags behind that of the masses. These leaders do not attach importance to science and technology. They often consider production for its own sake, and even regard science and technology as "water far away which cannot extinguish the fire nearby."
2. Some aquatic research projects are unrealistic. Over a long period of time, we have been unable to master some key technologies urgently required in production.
3. Some achievements in aquatic scientific research have not been adequately popularized. As a result, some of these achievements have been kept on the shelf rather than turned into productive forces.

In order to accelerate the development of our country's freshwater breeding and promote the level of scientific fish breeding, leadership at different levels should now pay particular attention to and strengthen aquatic science and technology and aquatic education. First, we should strengthen the research on the applied science and technology of breeding. Synthetic feed selection, reproduction of fine breeds, prevention and treatment of fish diseases, and reform of breeding systems are keys to whether freshwater breeding can increase production. Scientific research units at all levels should strengthen research in these fields. They should organize forces to work for a breakthrough as soon as possible in order to meet the urgent need of production and push forward a more rapid development of breeding. Second, we should actively popularize the achievements in scientific research. This is a very important task. Over the past 30 years since liberation, we have made considerable achievements in aquatic science research. In particular, since the national scientific conference, we have continued to make many new improvements. In 1979, China made 41 achievements in aquatic science research; in 1980, it made 60. In recent years, the units popularizing aquatic technology at various levels have made use of many achievements in scientific research in production and obtained remarkable economic results. For example, they have popularized the utilization of hybrid superiority among three species of carp (the Heyuan carp, Yue carp and Furong carp). According to statistics for some communes and brigades and some state-owned fishing farms in 13 provinces and cities, the production of hybrid carp last year increased by 3 million jin. There is still a great potential for popularizing the achievements in aquatic science and technology in China. According to some comrades, if the research achievements can be popularized, and if the present conditions remain unchanged, the output of aquatic breeding in the country will double. Therefore, we must pay great attention to work in this respect, and properly solve the problems of expenditure, materials and organization work which are needed in the popularization of technology. We should strengthen the close coordination among the departments of research, production, supply and marketing, capital construction, materials, and so forth. We should strengthen the management of scientific research planning and seriously implement the system of appraising and checking before accepting the results of scientific research, so that these results can be put to use and turned into productive forces as soon as possible. Third, we should strengthen the training of cadres in the field of aquatic technology and actively popularize fish breeding techniques. We should readjust and run aquatic schools at all levels and, in particular, strengthen secondary vocational education. We should seize the opportunity to provide different forms of technical training for professional fish-breeders.

Our country has a vast expanse of water areas in its hinterland, and natural conditions such as climate are very favorable. As long as we carry out appropriate investigation and research, draw up plans for development, adopt effective measures and gradually make use of all available waters areas, China's freshwater breeding will develop rapidly and provide the people with more and better aquatic products.

HISTORY AND THE RESULTANT OF FORCES--ON READING ENGELS' LETTER TO J. BLOCH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 29-31

[Article by Li Zhenxia [2621 2182 7209]]

[Text] In his letter to J. Bloch written in 1890, Engels said: "History is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each again has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant--the historical event. This may again itself be viewed as the product of a power which works as a whole, [boldface begins] unconsciously [boldface ends] and without volition." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 478) It is undoubtedly of great significance to restudy this scientific thesis of Engels' for a correct analysis and understanding of historical events or practical problems.

In his letter, although Engels said that human society and the natural world both develop in accordance with their own intrinsic laws, there is one basically different point between the history of social development and that of natural development. If we leave aside the counteraction of man against the natural world, then unconscious and blind forces work in the natural world. The forces function on one another, and general laws are manifested in each using the other for its own use. In this respect, what emerges is something no one consciously expected. The sun rises in the morning and sets in the evening. Around the year, winter passed away and spring comes, flowers blossom and wither. Orchid trees are in full blossom in spring and chrysanthemum trees in autumn, each having its own festival time, just as Li Bo's poem "Start the Journey at Sunrise" says: "The grass grows in spring breeze but extends no thanks to it. Trees wither in autumn but blame no one and nothing. Who wields a whip to lash the four seasons? All things on earth prosper and wither away. This is only natural." Therefore, the natural world is subject to unconscious and blind forces. This is an undeniable fact.

In terms of human society, things are quite different. What emerges in human society is the result of a conscious attempt and an expected objective. On the contrary, it is formed of the activities of men who seek a certain objective in a conscious and deliberate way or men who act out of fervor. The characteristic of human activities is that they are subject to thinking and have a definite purpose. Marx pointed out that the brilliance of the most incompetent

architect, who is wiser than the most skillful bee, lies in the fact that a bee when building a nest proceeds from blind instinct while an architect has a blueprint before construction begins. Such a conspicuous difference between human society and the natural world is also undeniable.

However, the result of the objective historical development of human society is only too often completely similar to the case which unconsciously holds a dominant position in the natural world. Before engaging in any activity, people often have a purpose, but the practical results of their actions are not foreseeable or in the very start they seem to tally with the hoped-for purpose but they end up with completely unexpected results. With the sole object of becoming the leader of an alliance in Europe, Napoleon went on a punitive expedition in a well-designed way time and again. At first things seemed to go smoothly but in the end he was imprisoned on an island and died there. Attempting to dominate the whole world by moving the earth single-handedly, wildly arrogant and fierce, Hitler plotted to carry out well conceived aggressive wars but before long he committed suicide by taking poison [as published] in a basement in Berlin. A host of facts prove that history does not develop in accordance with the subjective wills of people (including the great figures). Why does this state of affairs occur? It is hard to explain. Some people attribute it to a mysterious fate. It was not until the emergence of Marxism that this miasma was removed and a scientific answer was given.

In his letter to J. Bloch, Engels further expounded the Marxist scientific principles on this question. In his letter, he conspicuously talked about the relationship between the objective laws of historical development and man's subjective will. Historical materialism holds that the economy is the determining element in social development. We make our history ourselves under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are, in the final analysis, ultimately decisive. But when man's subjective will emerges, it will play a certain role in the development of history. However, this role is not determined by the will of any individual. It arises from the mutual intersections and conflicts of numerous individual wills with different purposes and different directions of activity. Using the rules and concepts of mathematics, Engels called this state of affairs the "resultant of forces." What does this mean?

First, by the "resultant of forces" we mean that the development of social history is not determined by the will of a certain individual but by the resultant of forces formed of innumerable conflicts and intersections of individual wishes and actions. People's demands are different because they have different economic statuses and different social conditions. Many wills are more often than not mutually contradictory, mutually opposed and mutually exclusive. Therefore, no will of any individual, even that of a great figure, can play a decisive role in the development of social history.

Second, a resultant of forces is not a simple addition of various forces; instead it is the total final result brought about by the mutual intersections, conflicts and counterbalances of various forces. This is the parallelogram of forces, as Engels called it. In other words, owing to the differences in direction and size, forces with different directions acting on an identical object intersect at one point and become a diagonal line, thus forming a resultant of forces which governs the direction of the movement of a body. Of course, social movements are more complicated than the individual movement of a body. For this reason, Engels called them "an infinite series of parallelograms of forces" from which the general action propelling the development of social history is formed.

A principle seems dull and dry, but it is the beacon removing the miasma of the surface of things so that we can see through to their essence. Take, for example, the unprecedented catastrophic "Great Cultural Revolution." Why was it able to drag on for as long as a decade? This seems hard to understand. But if we apply the "resultant of forces" principle of historical materialism in analyzing it, we will obtain a rational explanation. The "Great Cultural Revolution" was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong. We used to call every step and measure in the "Great Cultural Revolution" the "great strategic plan of the great leader." It seemed that everything revolved according to the individual will of Comrade Mao Zedong. In fact, that was not how things stood.

When the "Great Cultural Revolution" began, Comrade Mao Zedong assumed that it would last for 6 months and he proposed that schools be reopened within 6 months. After 5 months had passed, he assumed it would end within about a year. He said that the movement had been carried out for 5 months and it would possibly take another 5 months or a little longer. But by the beginning of 1967, he felt that 1 year would not be enough. In his talks with foreign guests, he said that it would take until February, March or April of the following year or a little longer to solve the problems in a comprehensive way. Two years elapsed, from May 1966 to April 1968. The development of the movement broke through the 2 years predicted by Comrade Mao Zedong. By the summer of 1967, Comrade Mao Zedong advanced a 3-year prediction: the first year was a year of rousing the masses to action, the second year a year of winning victory and the third year a year of doing the rounding-off work. The CCP's 9th national congress was held in April 1969. By then the "Great Cultural Revolution" had been carried out for exactly 3 years. At the CCP's 9th national congress, Comrade Mao Zedong did not clearly declare the "Great Cultural Revolution" to be finished, but in his speech there was a clear signal to wind it up. He said: "There is still some work to be finished in this revolution. For instance, we must continue to fulfill the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation. After several years, perhaps there is still a need to carry out revolution." However, the movement did not develop in accordance with the will of Comrade Mao Zedong. Lin Biao, the "close comrade-in-arms and successor," as was clearly written into the party constitution, unexpectedly staged a coup d'etat, schemed to usurp state power and party leadership before the scheduled time, and secretly tried to kill Comrade Mao Zedong. This was not foreseen by Comrade Mao Zedong. After that, he made no further mention of a timetable for the conclusion of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Why did things happen in this way? This was because during the "Great Cultural Revolution," various forces took effect.

First, this "Great Cultural Revolution" was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong. Owing to the confusing of the two kinds of contradiction, he held that the "Great Cultural Revolution" could throw the enemy into disorder and achieve "great order under heaven" through "great disorder under heaven." But this kind of individual will did not play a decisive role in the development of the movement. Practice has shown that it was we, not the enemy, who were thrown into disorder by the "Great Cultural Revolution." From beginning to end, it did not turn "great disorder under heaven" into "great order under heaven."

Second, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," there was another force which stirred up trouble, craved nothing short of nationwide chaos, and plotted to usurp the supreme party leadership and state power. This force was represented by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and others who, acting in the name of the "Cultural Revolution Group Under the CCP Central Committee," exploited the situation to incite people to overthrow everything and wage full-scale civil war. Some opportunists, careerists and conspirators who gathered around the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing had become their core force to make trouble and carry out disruptive activities. Among them, some managed to hold important, even very important, positions.

Third, there was a powerful force opposing the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the reactionary sabotage by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. That was the force of the party and the people. Many revolutionaries of the older generation of our party criticized the "Great Cultural Revolution" in various ways and means. For instance, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and other Political Bureau members and leading comrades of the Military Affairs Commission of the CCP Central Committee who were labeled the "February adverse current" and attacked and repressed, at various meetings sharply criticized the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Comrade Zhou Enlai found himself in an extremely difficult position throughout the "Great Cultural Revolution." He always kept the general interest in mind and bore the heavy burden of office without complaint, racking his brains and untiringly endeavoring to keep the normal work of the party and the state going, to minimize the damage caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution" and to protect many party and nonparty cadres. The vast numbers of workers, peasants and intellectuals waged a common struggle in various forms to resist the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the disruptive activities of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. The great majority of model workers, combat heroes, specialists and scholars, patriotic democratic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and their families, as well as the cadres of all nationalities, who were attacked and persecuted, never wavered in their correct stand of supporting the party and socialism and loving the motherland. Out of faith in Comrade Mao Zedong and the party, the majority of the people who were involved in the early stage of the movement and particularly the educated youths who participated in the "Red Guard" movement, except for a handful of extremists, did not like the way the leading cadres of the party at various levels were ruthlessly struggled against, after they had realized in practice more and more

clearly that enemies were taken for comrades and comrades were taken for enemies and that right and wrong were confused. Once they became politically awake, they gradually took a skeptical and wait-and-see attitude toward, and even resisted and opposed, the "Great Cultural Revolution." Some of them even heroically gave their lives for this purpose.

In addition, there were other forces which had an effect on the different directions, such as the remnants of the exploiting classes and the elements hostile to socialism, and so on.

Of course, these different forces and wills were by no means without foundation. Engels pointed out in his letter to J. Bloch that we make history ourselves under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are, in the final analysis, ultimately decisive while political and other conditions also exercise their influence. For instance, the conditions which had an impact on the various forces in the "Great Cultural Revolution" were that because the history of the socialist movement and the socialist countries was relatively short, we lacked a full understanding of the laws governing the development of a socialist society and many more remained to be explored. This lack of experience affected both the leadership and the masses; our party had long existed amid circumstances of war and fierce class struggle and was not fully prepared, either ideologically or in terms of scientific study, for the swift advent of the newborn socialist society and for socialist construction on a national scale. Therefore, when confronted with actual class struggle both abroad and at home, and particularly in the international environment of opposing the great-nation chauvinism of the Soviet Union, we were apt to substantially broaden the scope of class struggle and habitually fell back on the familiar methods and experiences of the large-scale, mass struggles of the past, and certain ideas and arguments set forth in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were misunderstood and dogmatically interpreted. As a result, the "leftist" mistakes seemed to have a "theoretical basis" and were hard to correct. Furthermore, there was the pernicious influence of centuries of feudal autocracy and the negative influence of the failure to handle the relations between the party and its leader correctly in the international communist movement. These should also not be taken lightly. These complex international and domestic conditions had an effect on the various forces in the "Great Cultural Revolution."

It is precisely the "resultant of forces" which was formed by these complicated forces but not by any other individual force that caused the "Great Cultural Revolution" to drag on for as long as a decade, and finally end with the victory of the smashing of the "gang of four."

History is always intricate. If we regard history as being as easy to solve as a simple equation of the first degree, we will deviate from the historical laws and commit mistakes. Therefore, we must always bear in mind Lenin's teaching that we must never forget the requirements of historical dialectics for grasping "the sum total of the varied and many relations between one thing and another" in investigating and analyzing anything.

HOW SHOULD DEVIATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF LEADERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BE UNDERSTOOD AND WHAT IS THEIR NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE PARTY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 32-34

[Article by Yin Chengshan [1438 6134 0810] in "Questions and Answers" column]

[Text] It was noted in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC": "In the communist movement, leaders play quite an important role. This has been borne out by history time and again and leaves no room for doubt. However, certain grievous deviations, which occurred in the history of the international communist movement owing to the failure to handle the relationship between the party and its leaders correctly, had an adverse effect on our party, too." What were the grievous deviations which had an adverse effect on our party? This was a question raised by many comrades when studying the resolution.

The CCP is the product of an integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement. It was born under the influence and with the help of the international communist movement. The revolutionary cause led by our party received assistance from the revolutionary forces of many countries; it was an integral part of the international communist movement. Thus, all the fine traditions inherent in the international communist movement have played a positive role in the construction and development of our party. However, the grievous deviations, which occurred in the international communist movement owing to the failure to properly handle the relationship between the party and its leaders, indeed had an adverse effect on our party. What we mean by grievous deviations here were mainly personality cult, the system of lifelong tenure of office for leaders and the excessive concentration of powers.

In the communist movement, the historical materialism founded by Marx and Engels clarified the position of the masses and the individual leaders in the creation of history, thus providing a scientific basis in theory for correctly handling the relationship between the party and its leaders. Marx and Engels not only made contributions by their theories, but they also set themselves up as practical examples for correctly handling this question. When Marx found that people were eulogizing his virtues and achievements, he flatly expressed that "this is very abominable." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 32, p 638) Engels also stopped the socialists of various countries many times from holding activities to celebrate his birthday. He said: "I have always abhorred this sort of occasion." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 38, p 231) Marx and Engels have truly achieved the unity of theory and practice; thus setting themselves up as examples for their generation in the international communist movement.

After Marx and Engels, in leading the work of the Russian Bolshevik Party, Lenin also made great contributions both in theory and practice to correctly handling the relationship between the party and its leaders. Lenin first put forward the system of democratic centralism within the party; and this has fundamentally solved the problem concerning the organizational principle of the party. On the eve of the victorious October Revolution, and when writing "The State and Revolution," Lenin also considered how to solve the problem regarding the appointment and removal of state personnel after the realization of the proletarian revolution. However, after the October Revolution, a civil war broke out during the first half of 1918. The Russian landlords and bourgeoisie staged an armed rebellion. They colluded with a dozen capitalist countries which coordinated an armed intervention, vainly attempting to strangle the newborn Soviet regime in the cradle. In such circumstances, it was literally impossible for the above-mentioned vision of Lenin to be realized. On the contrary, in order to win a military victory and defend the Soviet regime, the Bolshevik Party further emphasized a high degree of centralism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In addition, during the period, there appeared in the international communist movement the renegade actions of opportunist leaders like Kautsky and Bauer of the Second International; and the leftist ideological tendency began to run rampant within the communist parties of some countries. This left Lenin with no time to consider the question in this respect. At that time, an outstanding feature of the leftist ideological tendency was belittling and negating the role played by the leaders of the proletarian political party. They set the leaders up as being completely antagonistic to the party and the masses, vainly attempted to strike down the genuine Marxist leaders under cover of the slogans "Down with the leaders" and "Drag out new leaders who talk nonsense." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 199) This ideological tendency was very harmful during that time. Thus, in his "'Left-Wing' Communism--an Infantile Disorder," Lenin profoundly clarified the interrelationships of the leaders, the political party, classes and the masses and correctly pointed out: The proletarian party "will not merit the name until it learns to weld the leaders into one indivisible whole with the class and the masses." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 206) Lenin's exposition played a positive role in the international communist movement. It was correct and necessary. Lenin's exposition was aimed mainly at the various fallacies of the leftist ideological tendency. Therefore, it greatly emphasized the aspect of the unanimity of the leaders and the party as a collective and the masses as well as the need to uphold the "absolute centralization and rigorous discipline of the proletariat." (ibid, p 181) However, it did not give a theoretical explanation of the other aspect regarding bringing democracy into play within the party and strengthening supervision by the masses. The proletarian leaders have undoubtedly played a significant role in the communist movement in mobilizing and organizing the masses. Nevertheless, they must always place themselves in the midst of the party members and the masses and accept the supervision of the party members and the masses. They must never break away from the masses.

Stalin, Lenin's successor, violated in his later years the basic principles of historical materialism in handling the relationship between the leaders and the party. He wrongly and inappropriately exaggerated his own role and placed himself in an antagonistic position toward collective leadership. Stalin's mistakes began with his accepting and encouraging his personality cult, which reached a

peak during his later years. The prevalence of the trend of personality cult quickened the progress of Stalin's violation of the principle of collective leadership and the system of democratic centralism. At the same time, it also consolidated his position of lifelong tenure in office as leader of the party and state. Stalin also practiced centralized leadership in the international communist movement. For a very long period of time, the relationship between the Third International, which was practically led by Stalin, and the parties of various countries reached a state where it directly interfered in the internal politics of the parties of various countries and also wrote off or superseded the autonomous powers of those parties. The parties of various countries basically had to obey the decisions and command of the international regarding their programs, lines, significant personnel changes as well as significant plans for action. Later, Stalin also pushed forward the big-nation chauvinism among the various countries of the so-called socialist camp and even interfered in the internal politics of some countries.

The reason that we point out Stalin's serious deviations in handling the relationship between the leaders and the party is that we want to draw lessons from then and eliminate their negative influence upon our party. We do not have the slightest intention of negating the great meritorious achievements and outstanding contributions. As a matter of fact, the CCP received the leadership and support of the Third International as soon as it was established, and the Third International made great contributions to the Chinese revolution. The seventh enlarged plenary session of the Communist International in November 1926, in fact, listed the Chinese question as the central subject for discussion. From then on, Stalin also put forth many correct views regarding the Chinese revolution. Since the day of its establishment, the Chinese party has always trusted and respected Stalin, the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International. It was precisely because we believed so very firmly in Stalin that we did not discover in a timely way the deviations of the Soviet communists in handling the relationship between the leaders and the party and their negative influence upon our party. Stalin also had some wrong ideas when guiding the Chinese revolution. However, our party always shouldered the responsibility for them and never shifted the responsibility to Stalin. Thus, for many years we did not seriously guard against some negative influence from the Communist International on the question of leaders. After the death of Stalin, we began to realize his problems. Nevertheless, there emerged in the Soviet Union the Khrushchev renegade clique. Under the pretext of the so-called "opposing the personality cult," they completely negated Stalin. Though our party made the necessary criticism against Stalin's personality cult, we also had to properly affirm and protect Stalin. This inevitably affected our summing up experiences and drawing lessons from Stalin's mistakes. We thereby did not conduct a penetrating theoretical inquiry into the problems of the personality cult, the lifelong tenure of office of our leaders and the excessive centralization of power and failed to conduct a comprehensive examination of and reforms in our practical work. This was indeed a lesson.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was a great turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our party. Our party began to seriously correct in a comprehensive way the leftist mistakes made during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution." It has, first of all, released the cadres and masses from the spiritual shackles of the personality cult and the "two whatever's" which were prevalent in the past, and restored and developed the fine traditions in organizational principles which were shaped by our party since the Zunyi meeting and reiterated at the eighth party congress. Collective leadership and the system of democratic centralism have been restored, and democracy within the party and people's democracy have been carried forward. At the same time, the present lifelong tenure of office of leaders has been abolished and the problem of people occupying too many offices at the same time has been solved. In addition, the CCP Central Committee has emphasized the principle that neither democracy nor centralism should be overemphasized at the expense of the other and the principle that it is necessary both to uphold the prestige of proletarian leaders and to oppose personality cult. To achieve this, it has issued a special instruction on "not publicizing much about individuals." In short, since the Third Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, and on the basis of seriously summing up historical lessons, our party has done a lot of work both in theory and in practice in order to correctly handle the relationship between the leaders and the party and eliminate its negative influence. It has, therefore, enhanced day by day its prestige among the masses, and the work of the party and state have flourished every day.

WHY SHOULD WE OPPOSE THE PERSONALITY CULT AND AT THE SAME TIME SAFEGUARD THE PRESTIGE OF THE LEADERS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 34-36

[Article by Niu Xinfang [3662 2946 5364]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" pointed out: "We must carry out the Marxist principle that collective party leadership must be exercised by leaders who have emerged from mass struggles and who combine political integrity with professional competence, and we must prohibit the personality cult in any form. It is imperative to uphold the prestige of party leaders and, at the same time, ensure that their activities come under the supervision of the party and the people." This is using the concept of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to give a Marxist view of the relationship between opposing the personality cult and upholding the prestige of the leaders.

From the Marxist point of view, the personality cult is essentially different from upholding the prestige of the leaders. The personality cult carries out unrealistic, unscientific, unprincipled and blind worship of individual leaders. It infinitely exaggerates the role of the individual, defies and idolizes the individual and negates the historical role of the masses. If a leader accepts the personality cult, combines it with the personal power he holds and puts himself above the party and the masses, he will inevitably become arbitrary, run counter to the mass line and underline the principle of collective leadership. The article "Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" said: "The personality cult is a decadent legacy of the long road of man's history." This viewpoint is no doubt correct. Regardless of whether it was Marx, Engels or Lenin, they always respected the role of the masses in history and opposed the personality cult.

Due to the unique historical conditions in China, the personality cult of leaders has not only appeared before but has also lasted a long time. Despite the fact that the harm brought about by the personality cult to our cause was obvious to all, and that people cherished a bitter hatred for it, we nevertheless continued to practice a new personality cult in the 2 years following the smashing of the "gang of four." This seriously hampered the restoration and development of the revolutionary tradition and fine style of the party. This explains why the call "we must prohibit the personality cult in any form," made by the resolution is of far-reaching significance.

Upholding the prestige of the leaders is not the same as the personality cult. All classes in history must have outstanding figures as their leaders, people who can represent their interests and who are good at organizing and leading the masses. Under given conditions, leaders of any class have been able to influence the course of historical events. The proletariat must also have their own leaders. Outstanding leaders of the proletariat play a tremendous role in the cause of emancipating mankind. Guided by the world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, proletarian leaders are able to understand and master the objective laws governing social development, in a collective manner, represent the interests of the broadest mass of the people and use every means to struggle for them. Therefore, they have won the trust of the masses in protracted struggles, gained the support of the masses and enjoyed very high prestige among the people. The prestige of proletarian leaders is not artificially created but is established on the basis of the trust of the masses, as a result of their own actions.

Because proletarian leaders represent the interests of the masses in a collective manner and reflect their demands, the masses wholeheartedly obey their leadership and commands. However, this is only one aspect. There is also another aspect. In order to fulfill determined historical tasks, the masses must also obey the leaders' commands and leadership. The prestige of the leaders and the obedience of commands and leadership by the masses have a reciprocal effect on each other and influence each other. The higher the prestige of the leaders, the more closely the masses will obey their commands and leadership. The more closely the masses obey the commands and leadership of the leaders, the greater will be the achievements obtained. In this way, the prestige enjoyed by the leaders will also become higher. Naturally, proletarian leaders will also become higher. Naturally, proletarian leaders are not immortals; they can also make various mistakes. We must proceed from the standpoint of showing genuine affection for them, in dealing with their mistakes, and must make realistic and appropriate criticism.

However, there is also a certain connection between the personality cult and the prestige of the leaders. This is mainly manifested in the many similarities between the two. They both demand respect for the leaders and obedience to the leaders, and so on. If respect for the leaders and obedience to the command of the leaders are transformed into exaggerating the role of the individual and denigrating the role of the party and the masses, or putting individual leaders above the party and the masses, trust in the leaders and obedience to the leaders will reach the level of blind worship and blind obedience. In that case we will be heading in the opposite direction and end up with the personality cult. As we have said before, the prestige of proletarian leaders is developed through protracted struggles and is not the result of doing one or two good things for the people. Leaders who have shown foresight and wisdom and who have demonstrated the ability to organize the people in triumphing over difficulties and achieving victories, will in the course of time enjoy high prestige among the masses. Many of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries in our party have done this. We must use the historical materialist standpoint to scientifically interpret and explain the role of the leaders. If we exaggerate the role of the leaders at will, play up the prestige

of the leaders, and for the sake of personal gain, unscrupulously describe the shortcomings of the leaders as strong points and mistakes as achievements, or if we use coercive means to establish the prestige of the leaders, then we will be guilty of the personality cult. We acknowledge the role played by outstanding people, but the fact that they are able to play this role is entirely dependent on the following two conditions: 1) they must stand in the vanguard of the historical trend; 2) they must acknowledge the guiding role of the masses. If they think only of individual wisdom and improperly exaggerate the role of the individual to the extent of negating the collective role of the party and the role played by the masses in historical development, then they obviously are practicing the personality cult. Upholding the prestige of the leaders is undoubtedly a truism, but if the proper limits are exceeded, it will become a fallacy.

The thesis of "we must not only oppose the personality cult but must also uphold the prestige of the leaders" put forth by the resolution has firmly opposed two kinds of tendencies. First is the tendency of adopting the "two whatever's" policy toward the leaders. This means whatever decision the leaders make has to be firmly upheld regardless of whether it is right or wrong. Whatever instruction the leaders issue must be always adhered to, and the words of the leaders should be accepted as eternal and inflexible dogma. The other is the tendency of undermining the prestige of the leaders. This means negating the historic achievements of the leaders, attacking a single fault without considering the other aspects and describing their correct actions as mistakes. This erroneous tendency is more liable to appear when the leaders have made mistakes.

In the history of our party, there have been cases of leaders turning bad, and Chen Duxiu was one of them. Regarding these people, a realistic appraisal of their historical role will be enough, and the question of upholding their prestige basically does not exist. As for a leader who scored great achievements but also made mistakes in the past, in pointing out his mistakes we must, at the same time, uphold his prestige. We definitely cannot give ourselves over to blind emotion and judge him by a single occasion or incident, but must make a fair appraisal of all his past actions. Only in this way can we give play to the Marxist-Leninist attitude, the attitude of seeking truth from facts and the proper moral quality of communists. This is what our party has done in regard to Comrade Mao Zedong. The leading members of the CCP Central Committee have repeated that the merits of Comrade Mao Zedong are primary and his errors are secondary. In correcting the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong, our party has, at the same time, firmly opposed the erroneous attitude adopted by certain people of belittling Comrade Mao Zedong and writing off the tremendous achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong. Affirming the achievements of the leader means upholding the prestige of the party. Criticizing the mistakes of the leader is also intended to uphold the prestige of the party. This is precisely our aim in correcting the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years.

Opposing the personality cult is a long-term task, and we must oppose it in all forms. At the same time, we must also pay attention to upholding the prestige of the leaders. Today, the class struggle still exists in certain spheres and

there is still a market for the anarchist ideas advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We must guard against the words and actions of a handful of people, which undermine the prestige of the leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee. We definitely cannot permit the spread of harmful rumors and gossip directed against the leading comrades of the Central Committee.

Proletarian leaders are not supposed to be individuals. They are a collective body. As a collective body, they are the head of the party, and core of solidarity and unity of the whole party and the headquarters directing the whole party and the people throughout the country in their struggle to achieve socialist modernization and to realize communism. Therefore, upholding their prestige means upholding the prestige of our party, and upholding the solidarity and unity of the whole party. Naturally, just as the resolution has pointed out, in upholding the prestige of the leaders we must, at the same time, "ensure that their activities come under the supervision of the party and the people." This kind of supervision is intended to prevent the leaders from becoming divorced from the masses and from reality. The purpose of this is also to more properly uphold their prestige. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, some of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and the comrades in the prime of life have become the strong leading nucleus and leadership group of our party. They have made tangible contributions to bringing order out of chaos, redressing false charges, wrong sentences and frameup cases, and readjusting the national economy. At present, the party Central Committee is one that can be trusted by the whole party and the people of various nationalities throughout the country. Under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, we will certainly be able to score new victories in the four modernizations. Therefore, upholding the prestige of the party Central Committee and obeying the commands of the party Central Committee is an important means for guaranteeing the triumph of our cause. A communist who does not understand upholding the prestige of the leaders or upholding the prestige of the party Central Committee shows signs of being debased in party spirit and is not even qualified to be a communist. Lenin said: "The training of experienced and influential party leaders is a long and difficult job, and without it, the dictatorship of the proletariat and its 'unity of will,' remain a phrase." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 32, p 505) These words of Lenin's can be used as a guide in our study of the resolution.

THE STRUGGLE BY THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

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[Article by Dai Lunzhang [2071 0243 1757]]

[Text] Nowadays, more than 140 developing countries and regions have converged to form an independent and decisive force in the international political arena. These countries are called the Third World. After having won their political independence, they have called for economic independence and have achieved a fair amount of success in developing their national economies. However, in economic development, apart from domestic factors, they continue to be heavily bound by the existing international economic order. More than 30 countries still remain in a state of extreme poverty. For most countries which depend mainly on the export of primary products, trade conditions are worsening daily. Furthermore, some countries which depend mainly on the export of finished products are being forced to slow their pace of development because of the implementation of protectionist policies. As for oil-exporting countries, while the foreign exchange revenues which they acquire by selling their limited and nonregenerative oil resources are declining owing to the worldwide currency inflation, their own economies are hampered from developing smoothly owing to the worsening of external conditions. This is exactly the reason why the developing countries must unite to establish a new international economic order.

North-South Relations and International Economic Relations

The victory of the Third World in the struggle in 1973 and the worldwide capitalist economic crisis in 1974 marked the beginning of two turning points in the world economy. As the situation in which over a long period of time a small number of developed countries, in particular the superpowers, monopolized international economic affairs began to change, the struggle by the developing countries for a new international economic order entered a new stage; on the other hand, as the high growth period for the economies of the developed countries after World War II ended, the economic cycle has also changed in its form and characteristics and entered a long-term stage of continuous coexistence of production stagnation and currency inflation.

Pushed along by the oil struggle, the developing countries have achieved a fair amount of success in the struggle in the international economic field. However, compared with the current problems concerning the economic relations between the South and the North (most of the developing countries are situated in the south, and most of the developed countries are situated in the north) which badly need to be solved, these achievements are quite limited. What is unfavorable to the developing countries is that the struggles related to raw materials other than petroleum have not won victories comparable to that of the oil struggle. Therefore, the developed countries can continue to force down the prices of raw materials, monopolize the processing, transportation and sale of raw materials, and restrict the developing countries in exporting finished products to their markets, while continually raising the prices of industrial products and grain. On the other hand, terms for technology transfers and loans in the international capital market have become harsher and harsher. Moreover, the present international monetary system causes the developing countries to seriously suffer from worldwide inflation and financial instability. All these factors have seriously affected the finances and economies of many developing countries, caused their incomes to fall short of expenditures, and therefore led to noticeable adverse balances of international payments and heavy debts in successive years. In 1980, the adverse balance of running expenses of the non-oil-producing developing countries amounted to \$80.1 billion, their accumulated external loans amounted to \$370.1 billion, and the value of repaid debts amounted to \$75.2 billion. The gap between the South and the North is still growing wider.

There are many complicated contradictions in the present international economic relations, of which an important one is that between the North and the South, in other words, the contradiction between the vast number of developing countries and the developed countries. This contradiction retains the characteristics of the struggle between the exploiter and the exploited, those in control and those who are controlled, with imperialists, colonialists and hegemonists on one side and the countries and nations which are striving for the integrity of independence and sovereignty and the development of an independent national economy on the other side. At the present stage, the principal aspect of the contradiction remains the developed countries, particularly those powerful countries that are enforcing imperialist, colonialist and hegemonist policies. Relying on their enormous economic power, they held the monopolizing and dominant position in international economic relations in the past and hold it at present. However, the position of each of the opposites of a contradiction can be reverse. The developing countries, which have won political independence, will not tolerate indefinitely a position of being exploited and controlled. For this reason, the developed countries will not have full assurance of success all the time in repeated struggles. As the Third World is awakening day after day, it has become harder and harder to maintain the unfair, unequal and unreasonable old international economic relations.

The old international economic relations not only hamper the economic development of the developing countries but also harm the economies of the developed countries. There is no doubt that the development of the developed countries' economies depends, fundamentally speaking, on their own socioeconomic systems

and their reforming processes. However, it cannot be denied that how rationally the developed countries handle North-South relations will continue to be one of the important factors. The reason is: the interdependence between different countries' economies is a necessary trend of the economic development in today's world, and the degree of this interdependence has been becoming more and more prominent, in particular since World War II, following the internationalization of production and exchange. In the meantime, as the old international economic relations continue to exist, the contradiction between the developing countries and the developed countries is sharpening, and the struggle between them is becoming more and more acute day by day. In the opposition and struggle between the two sides, the developed countries will not only encounter boycotts from the developing countries, but also get into difficulties in coping with problems concerning the supply of raw materials, sales markets, investment locations and so on. Many far-sighted people have already concluded that a new international economic order must be established if we do not want the interdependent relations to be turned into the dependence of most of the developing countries upon the developed countries and the opposition to develop into an acute confrontation. They have also found that only by strengthening international cooperation on the basis of unremittingly reforming the unfair, unequal and unreasonable old international economic order can we boost the world economy.

The Progress of and Obstacles to North-South Negotiations

Under the impact of the oil struggle, the "declaration on the establishment of a new international economic order" and the "program of action" were adopted at the sixth special session of the UN General Assembly in 1974. From the end of 1975 to the middle of 1977, conferences on international economic cooperation were convened in Paris in which 27 countries, either of the South or the North, participated, and thus the dialogue between the South and the North was begun. Later, the North-South negotiations were moved into and continued within the United Nations, where a series of related meetings were held respectively through arrangements by UNCTAD, UNIDO, FAO and so on. Unfortunately, these negotiations did not achieve any important results. Hence, the developing countries proposed holding new international negotiations of a global scale within the United Nations.

In December 1979, resolution 138 was unanimously adopted at the 34th session of the UN General Assembly, which clearly defined the initial idea for global negotiations and their general principles: The global negotiations should be held within the UN system. They must concern the all-important issues of the five great fields of raw materials, trade, development, currency and finance and energy resources. The principle of fairness, equality and mutual benefit must be observed in adjusting international economic relations so as to establish a new system for international economic relations. The negotiations should push the world economy forward, in particular the economies of the developing countries. Nevertheless, the global negotiations were not held soon thereafter because of the passive attitude of some developed countries, especially the United States.

Here, the key question is who holds the ultimate decisionmaking power. Some developed countries, headed by the United States, strive hard to safeguard their ultimate decisionmaking power in those specialized organizations that they control.

On the other hand, they go all out to weaken the competence of the global negotiations conference and thus reduce global negotiations to empty talk without real effect, so that those specialized organizations which they dominate can exert decisive power.

The Soviet hegemonists always act in the name of "natural ally," "integration," "international division of labor" and so on. Relying on their own political and economic power, they are interfering in other countries' internal affairs, plundering their resources, seizing their economic lifelines, aggravating their economic dependence upon the Soviet Union, and so on. In the meantime, they foment splits and dissension among the developing countries, trying by every means to sabotage the efforts of those countries to establish a new international economic order.

The Demands of the Developing Countries in Specific Fields

At present, there are still quite a few contentious issues, which badly need to be resolved in a number of important specific fields, between the developing and developed countries. In order to resolve these issues efficiently, the developing countries have proposed a series of correct opinions and reasonable demands.

In the field of grain and agriculture, a number of developing countries have so far failed to fulfill their minimum needs for grain owing to the backwardness in agriculture and the lopsided single-product economic system brought about by colonialism. Therefore, in order to promote grain production in these countries so that they can reach the target of a 4-percent annual increase in grain production, which was set in the third 10-year international development strategy of the United Nations, the developing countries have demanded that the developed countries put more stress on agricultural items in terms of aid and loans. The latter should help the former to carry out the resolutions adopted at the world grain conference concerning the promotion of irrigation projects, soil improvement, seed industry and so on, which are favorable to the increase of grain production. On the other hand, they also called for an early solution of the problems concerning the establishment of an international grain storage system and a "grain credit" system, the increase of grain aid and so on.

In the field of trade, the conditions for trade for raw materials-exporting countries, which make up the overwhelming majority of the developing countries, are worsening owing to the exchange of unequal values, which is a historical issue, and the practices of the developed countries, which continue to force down the prices of primary products. Quite a few developing countries have developed their processing industries. Yet, in exporting the processed products they are restricted by the protectionist policies of the developed countries. Therefore, the developing countries raised the following demands: In accordance with the resolution on the setting up of the "comprehensive plan for commodities," which was adopted at the fourth trade development congress in 1976, an international agreement concerning the important primary products must be reached to establish a common commodity foundation guaranteeing the revenue from export products, so that the income of the developing countries obtained from exporting primary products will be stabilized and the trade conditions for them will be

Improved. In order to help the developing countries to promote their own products in the international market, the tariff and non-tariff barriers created by the developed countries must be gradually modified or even eliminated. The general system of preferences must be further improved, and the extent and range of preferences for the developing countries must be expanded.

In the field of development, most of the developing countries are very short of development funds owing to their poverty, which has its origins in the rule and plundering by imperialists and colonialists over a long period of time. Thus, the developing countries demand: According to the stipulations of the third 10-year international development strategy of the United Nations and the "new substantial program of action for aid to the most undeveloped countries in the 1980's" adopted at the Paris conference, the developed countries should raise their official development aid to the level of 0.7 percent of their GNP's, and the aid to the most undeveloped countries to the level of 0.15 and 0.20 percent of their GNP's by stages in a fixed period. On the other hand, they should also improve the quality and terms of aid, so as to help the developing countries to establish independent national economies without aggravating the dependence of those countries on them.

In the field of currency and banking, the developing countries are exploited and have no right under the existing international financial banking system owing to the monopoly of international financial capital. For this reason, the developing countries demand: In order for their national economies to prosper, the multilateral financial organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Development Association and so on should improve their functions in relaxing the restrictions on quotas for loans to the developing countries and adding new items eligible for loans. The International Monetary Fund should increase and improve the "compensating loans for fluctuation in exports" so that the developing countries acquire the needed compensation when trade conditions worsen. The World Bank should help the developing countries to establish as soon as possible an energy branch of the World Bank for exploiting energy resources. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank should reform the current voting rights system, which is now under the control of a small number of financially powerful countries headed by the United States, increasing the share of the developing countries and expanding their power in elaborating, consulting, negotiating and decisionmaking.

In the field of international law and regulations, the old international laws and regulations and international practices are always favorable to the rich countries and unfavorable to the poor ones. Therefore, the developing countries call for reforming the unreasonable laws, regulations and systems in this field. At present, "regulations for international technology transfers" and "regulations for activities of multinational corporations" should be worked out as soon as possible.

All the demands raised by the developing countries in these specific fields aim at reforming the existing international economic structure so as to make it fairer, more equal and more reasonable. Therefore, all these demands are fully justified.

The Standpoint and View of the Chinese People and Government

To carry out a structural reform of the existing international economic order is a common demand of the developing countries. Realizing this reform requires changing the historically lopsided international division of labor and, therefore, changing the unreasonable relations of production, exchange and distribution in the world economy. It also requires restricting and supervising the activities of multinational corporations according to the principle of sovereignty, and having the developing countries engage more fully and efficiently in the decisionmaking processes in international affairs.

Recently, the heads of state, heads of government or their representatives from 14 developing countries and 8 developed countries met and talked in Cancun, Mexico. This event more or less reflected the desires of the developing countries. At the Cancun meeting, Premier Zhao Ziyang clearly and definitely elaborated the principled stand of the Chinese Government on the establishment of a new international economic order. China, as a developing country, belongs to the Third World. We entirely support and actively engage in the struggle of the developing countries for a new international economic order. In substance, the so-called new international economic order means a movement of international economic relations from an unfair, unequal and unreasonable basis (which was created by imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism) to a fair, equal and reasonable basis through structural reforms. It consists of the following aspects: The sovereignty of the developing countries must be respected. There should be no manipulation of their economic lifelines and no aggravation of their dependence. The new order must be helpful to the developing countries in developing an independent national economy, advantageous to their domestic reforms in developing the economy, and in line with their efforts to realize economic independence and collective self-support. The situation in which the developing countries have no decisionmaking power in international economic affairs must be changed; they should not only have the right to independently decide the development strategy which conforms to their own national conditions but also have the right to participate in consultations, negotiations and decisionmaking on international affairs. International economic aid, private investments, technology transfers, trade and finance must all be consistent with the principle of fairness, reasonableness, equality and mutual benefit--this is the fundamental requirement for international economic cooperation. Only by establishing a new international economic order through such international cooperation can North-South relations be improved and the world economy boosted.

In fact, North-South relations are not merely an economic problem but also an important political issue concerning world peace and international security. At present, the world is facing the threat of hegemonism, and world peace and international security are being challenged. One of the important means that the hegemonists use in carrying out invasion and expansion is intervention in some developing countries by exploiting their economic difficulties and internal turbulence, or control of these countries through "aid" with political strings attached. Therefore, the efforts to improve North-South relations in order

to strengthen international cooperation and to push the world economy forward are of great strategic significance to the struggle against hegemonism and the cause of safeguarding world peace and vice versa. In accordance with the consistent standpoint of our people and our government, we are willing to contribute our efforts to establishing a new international economic order and safeguarding world peace, along with all countries and people who love peace.

MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND AGRICULTURAL MODERNIZATION

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[Article by Xu Guanren [1776 0385 0088], Hou Xueyi [0186 1331 3558], Shi Shan [4258 1472], Wang Kehai [3769 0344 3189] and Yang Tingxiu [2799 2185 4423]

[Text] Agriculture is the material-producing sector which combines nature's reproduction and economic reproduction. Through photosynthesis, green plants convert solar energy into chemical energy and change inorganic matter into organic matter. This is one of nature's reproduction processes. By virtue of its own labor and wisdom, the human race constantly improves and enhances the conversion ratio of biological organisms, thereby combining nature's reproduction and economic reproduction.

The object of agricultural production is living beings. Its scope of activity, basically speaking, embraces the material conversion cycle and the transformation of energy in relation to living beings and nature. In order to increase the inherent productiveness of living beings themselves, the production activities and scientific experiments of the human race are indispensable. This is done by making full use of the living beings and their transformation to take care of human needs on the one hand, and by making rational use of, as well as changing, the physical environment so as to take care of the needs of the growth and reproduction of living beings.

The essence of the modernization of agriculture lies in the laying of a scientific foundation for the production and management of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery, as well as in utilizing science and technology as a productive force in conjunction with an appropriate input of materials and energy to yield the largest possible output and the best economic result. The objective of the modernization of agriculture is to produce an agricultural production system which produces large, good quality yields with low consumption of raw materials and a rational agricultural ecological environment conducive to high efficiency in order to meet the needs of the people as well as those of national construction and national defense.

As conditions in various countries differ, so do the processes of their agricultural modernization. Some lean more toward measures of biochemical technology, and others take the road of joint development of mechanical technology and biochemical technology. Currently, all countries that are advanced in agriculture

rely for their advancement on closely coordinated measures in relation to mechanical and biochemical technology and those relating to the science of economic management.

Modern agriculture falls into the category of socialized large production. Its social division of labor and rational geographical layout should be worked out in line with the demarcation of agricultural areas in order to give full play to regional superiority and to promote production of the commodities orientated towards foreign as well as domestic markets. Consequently, the modernization of agriculture not only concerns a certain region and a certain country, but also calls for viewing the world as a whole as well as for taking into consideration the needs of human society as a whole. It requires compliance with natural laws and economic laws, and consideration of the immediate interests of the people and the well-being of their descendents.

1. Science and Technology Are the Motive Forces for Promoting the Progress of Modern Agriculture

One characteristic of modern agriculture is the utilization of science and technology in bolstering agriculture and motivating agricultural production. The following is a brief exposition with illustrations.

1) The immense enhancement of agricultural products both in terms of quantity and quality as the result of the development of the theories of genetics and the breakthrough achieved by the techniques of seed breeding.

Good strains or breeds are the common requirement of farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery. For a long time, mankind has paid great attention to the selective breeding of good seed strains, but the crucial breakthrough did not come until the application of the theories of genetics and new techniques. Take corn, for example. In the 60 years between 1876 and 1936, the output of corn in the United States fluctuated around 200 jin per mu. It was not until the successful breeding of hybrid corn on the basis of the theory of the predominance of hybrid breeding that the output increased by a large margin. In 1979 the yield rose to as high as 915 jin per mu. The theory of the predominance of hybrid breeding has also been applied in animal husbandry, forestry and fishery, and good results have been achieved.

Genetics is a comparatively new science, but it has been developing very rapidly. Many new breeding methods have been achieved by employing the principles of genetics to coordinate artificial mutation, the cultivation of tissue, cross-breeding of cells, genetic engineering and computer techniques. This has played a very important role in the selective breeding of animals, plants and microorganisms.

2) The establishment of the chemical fertilizers industry as a result of the development of plant physiology and chemistry and the great increase of the per-unit area yield of agricultural crops owing to the extensive use of chemical fertilizers.

Justus von Liebig formulated the principle of the balance and replenishment of nutrient elements, and Jean Baptiste Boussingault formulated the principle of the role of nitrogen nutrients and photosynthesis. Later, research was done on the minerals needed by plants by means of solution cultivation and other methods. All this paved the way for the establishment of theories for making chemical fertilizers.

Since the experimentation on the effects of chemical fertilizers conducted by the (Luo-sen-mu-si-de) [5012 2773 1191 2448 1759] experimental station in England, attention was paid to the experimentation and application of chemical fertilizers by countries all over the world. With Harper's formulation of the synthetization of ammonia, the synthetic ammonia industry witnessed rapid development and accelerated the development of the chemical fertilizer industry as a whole.

With the improvement of the technique of using fertilizers, the productiveness in increasing output of fertilizers became more and more notable. Between 1954 and 1978, a period of 24 years, Japan witnessed a net increase of 338 jin of rice per mu. By 1978 output of rice per mu was 838 jin. The following were the main reasons supporting the increase of output: comparatively larger input of chemical fertilizers, the good quality of fertilizers, and the adoption of scientific methods of applying fertilizers. The advanced countries all over the world witnessed significant growth of all crops. Aside from the effects of improved seed strains and method of cultivation, the application of fertilizers played a very important role.

3) The development of animal husbandry and food science and the doubling of the feed remuneration and the significant shortening of the feed cycle.

Animal husbandry owes its achievements to science and technology. The selection of good seed strains was made feasible by the application of the principles of genetics and computer technology, and the multiplication of good breeds depends on the application of the principle of reproduction physiology and the technique of artificial insemination. The prevention of disease depends much on immunology, pathology, as well as advanced diagnosis and treatment. The improvement of the conversion rate of feeds and the shortening of the feeding cycle are mainly the results of the application of the principle of nutrient physiology and the use of composite fertilizers. For example, for the same breed of poultry, the consumption of feed per kilogram of meat gained up to the 5th week of feeding was 3.59 kilograms in 1918 and 1.74 kilograms in 1968. In a span of 50 years, the feed conversion rate of poultry doubled. Again, in the 1930's 2.5 years were needed to raise a calf to the weight of 500 kilograms. At present, the time needed has been reduced to 1 year.

4) Significant improvement of agricultural labor productivity owing to the innovations in motive power and mechanical science techniques.

The significant improvement of agricultural labor productivity is one of the important indicators of modern agriculture. Great attention is paid to mechanical and technological measures in all economically advanced countries. By and large,

the United States completed mechanization in 1940, and labor productivity was greatly enhanced by that time. From 1870 to 1975, agricultural productivity in the United States showed an increase of 12 times over that of 1870.

In the field of animal husbandry, the factory-style cattle and poultry raising business is already practiced in the economically advanced countries. There are cattle-fattening ranches which produce 500,000 cattle annually and poultry farms which produce 1 million eggs daily. One or two persons can look after more than 100,000 broilers. About 10 persons can run a ranch feeding 10,000 cattle. Of course, there are the supporting services, such as the production of feeds, mechanical maintenance, transportation, storage, and so on. As for forestry, lumbering, transportation, processing, and so on, are completely mechanized. In the field of aquatic products, fleet operation is adopted in production, catching is mechanized and automated. Even artificial aquatic breeding has been developed and automated. On the whole, without highly developed mechanical science and technology, it is impossible to enhance agricultural labor productivity significantly. However, it should also be pointed out that agricultural mechanization cannot play its role in isolation. Its function is in close coordination with biological and chemical measures.

5) New ways constantly shown by modern science and technology for the development of agriculture.

After World War II, the rapid advancement of science and technology gave the impetus for the development of modern agriculture. The peaceful uses of atomic energy have attracted extensive attention among countries all over the world. Of these, the technique of irradiation, tracing and isotopes, activation analysis and other techniques are being extensively used in agriculture, and playing their role in ensuring high and stable yields as well as in storage for agriculture. The invention of semiconductors, electronic meters and computers has created conditions for the mechanization, automation, factory-style production, and the scientific operation and management of agriculture. The application of the technique of remote control and sending back the findings of manmade satellites provides a new means for mankind in surveying natural resources and the prevention of natural disasters. The rise of synthetic chemistry provides highly efficient and low poison-content agricultural chemicals as well as produces various kinds of plastics and new materials which are useful in agricultural engineering projects. The new discoveries and theories of physiologists and the research findings of ocean exploration open up new roads and fields for agriculture.

2. The Common Experiences of All Countries in Implementing Agricultural Modernization

Since the natural conditions, social system and economic foundation of the countries that have already implemented agricultural modernization at present differ, so do their development, and each has its own characteristics. The following are four aspects chosen from their common experiences, presented for the reference of the readers.

1) Close coordination among research, education, and popularization of technology, and training of numerous qualified personnel for the purpose of ensuring the rapid application of scientific research findings to production.

According to the analysis of U.S. scholars, 81 percent of the growth of agricultural production and 71 percent of the improvement of labor productivity in the United States are accounted for by scientific research work. In recent years, the outlays for agricultural research in the United States amounted to about \$1.5 billion annually. In addition to this, more than \$200 million were spent on promoting agriculture. In other economically developed countries great efforts have been devoted to research work in terms of input of manpower and funds.

In the field of scientific research, the following measures are adopted by various countries in similar ways. First, research networks are set up, in which the government-run research institutes and those run by private enterprises are coordinated, and composite research institutes comprising main subject studies are coordinated with priority research centers, and in some cases the research units of the various departments and those of the various branches of scientific studies are amalgamated and run as a science and education town. Second, science and education are integrated. Full play is given to the faculty members of colleges and universities in research work. In the meantime, full play is also given to the research staff in training qualified scientific workers. Third, the research institutes are maintained in stability in order to ensure continuity of research and development. The most outstanding feature is that there is a good division of labor and coordination between research institutes at all levels. The institutes of the central government undertake basic research of a strategic nature, while institutes of various localities undertake applied research work in line with the characteristics of the area and in conformity with production. Their common feature is that research sets the pace for production.

Improving the overall scientific and cultural standards of the people and the training of special personnel for agriculture are the prerequisites of implementing agricultural modernization. The training measures taken by all countries pay simultaneous attention to the following three aspects: First, the extension of compulsory education; second, the large-scale training programs for intermediary agricultural specialized personnel, and third, the strengthening of agricultural colleges and institutions.

The promotion of technology relates directly to the conversion of science and technology to actual social productive forces. All countries that are advanced in agriculture pay great attention to this. What they do is the following: 1) they set up specialized organizations responsible for promoting leading technology all over the country; 2) they set up organizations at the grassroots and provide them with specialized personnel, and 3) they diversify the forms of technology promotion, making full use of broadcasting, television, facilities for examining and acquiring information, and so on.

2) The rational layout of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fishery, and the creation of a rational ecological system.

There are two principles to be followed by modern agriculture, the maintenance of the ecological balance between living organisms and their environment on the one hand, and the satisfaction of the needs of social economic development on the other hand. By and large, Western Europe was formerly a crop-producing region. It later changed to joint development of crops and animal husbandry. The United States has all along emphasized both crop raising and animal husbandry. Now it pays concurrent attention to forestry and fishery. Japan is a mountainous country. Over the years it has been raising crops on hilly land and the peasants' income has been very low. In the last 20 years this policy has changed. Hilly land is devoted to forestry mainly through proper coordination between forestry, fruit growing and grazing. This not only makes full use of the natural resources but increases the peasants' income.

Forests are important sources for industrial materials as well as an important safeguard for regulating climate, proper water and soil conservation, the prevention of floods and droughts, and stable and high yields in agricultural production. The total output, measures on a per-unit area basis, of living things from forests is 20 to 100 times larger than that from farmland or pastures. For this reason, countries all over the world pay great attention to forestry. At present countries with a forest cover rate in excess of 50 percent include Korea, Japan, Finland and Sweden. Prior to World War II, Japan's forests were cut excessively. This caused serious soil erosion and droughts. In the 1950's, Japan promulgated a series of laws for the protection of forests. By the 1960's the devastated forests had, by and large, been restored. Since this time Japan has never experienced serious floods or droughts. The planting of trees and reforestation certainly played a role in this respect.

Seven-tenths of the surface of the earth is covered by water, hence there is immense potential for aquatic production. Aquatic products are not only a source of foodstuffs for mankind, but also of good feed for cattle and poultry. In recent years, countries with water resources have been devoting great efforts to the development of the breeding of aquatic organisms. For the abstraction of protein and the saving of energy, the development of aquatic products has great economic significance.

3) Formulate correct policies and ensure agricultural development.

In the process of modernizing agriculture, various countries have formulated a series of policies and laws in accordance with their domestic natural conditions and the factors relating to their agricultural productive force. In order to develop its western frontier, the United States formulated the "reclamation law." In order to amalgamate small pieces of land into large farms, France and the Federal Republic of Germany as well as other countries formulated corresponding laws. In order to adjust the structure of agriculture, namely, to replace the unitary cultivation of crops with the joint development

of crop raising and animal husbandry, England, France, Japan as well as other countries have taken measures to increase the proportion of animal husbandry. In order to maintain the ecological balance, all the countries have formulated laws in relation to environmental protection, water and soil conservancy, and so on.

In order to safeguard the interests of the producers and to accelerate the development of agriculture, all the countries have given great financial support to agriculture. Both the Federal Republic of Germany and France emphasize that agriculture should be put on the same footing as the other sectors of the economy in regard to sales, taxation, credits, prices, and so on. Japan emphasizes that the whole economy should support agriculture. The agricultural outlays of the state and local governments of the United States accounts for a good portion of the federal budget. The price differential between industrial and agricultural products is also relatively small. The United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, as well as other countries have all along adopted the policy of subsidizing the prices of agricultural products. When the farmers dispose of their farm produce at a price lower than the government-supported price, a subsidy is granted for the price gap. The reason why the economically advanced countries give such strong support to agriculture lies not only in the fact that agriculture is the foundation of the economy, but also that without adequate farm produce a country would be put in an unfavorable position militarily and diplomatically.

4) Explore more efficient scientific and technological measures in the light of the problems faced by modern agriculture.

At present, the world is facing three problems: 1) the inadequate supply of grain; 2) the energy crisis; and 3) the deterioration of the natural environment.

1. The inadequate supply of grain. In 1978, the total world population topped 4.3 billion and the output of grain amounted to 1.3 billion tons. It is estimated that by 2000 the world population will be 6.4 billion with a total demand for 2.3 tons of grain. For countries that are long-term grain importers, this is a worrisome problem.

2. The energy crisis. The cause of the energy crisis can be related to production, for example, demand in excess of supply, as well as political and economic factors, for example, the rise of prices. Comparing 1970 with 1976, the international prices of petroleum and chemical fertilizers increased by more than 6 times over the 1970 price, and the prices are still rising. Over the past 10 years, with the constant increase of the consumption of energy in agriculture, the costs of agricultural products have constantly been increasing.

3. The deterioration of the natural environment. The deterioration of the natural environment is manifested in many aspects, of which the pollution of farm chemicals and the three wastes of industry are most serious. With the increase in the need for lumber, more and more of the forests are being

exploited. Consequently, soil erosion is becoming more and more serious. Moreover, the growth of deserts, marshland, the growth of salinization as well as other deterioration of the natural environment are posing serious threats to agricultural production and the health of mankind.

In respect of the above problems, new and more efficient scientific and technological measures must be sought.

One measure to be sought is opening up more sources of food and reducing food consumption. By the end of the century, the arable land of the world can only be increased by 4 percent and an increase in grain output will mainly depend on increasing the per-unit area yield. In terms of science, the actual unit yield in crop raising and animal husbandry is far short of the theoretical level. Therefore, it is imperative to strengthen basic study in order to give full play to the production potential of agricultural organisms.

The raising of the per-unit area yield is insufficient to meet the needs of the growth of the human population. Consequently, it is necessary to further exploit the oceans, inland water areas, and hilly land suitable for afforestation and grazing; to actively guard against natural disasters, both climatic and biological disasters; and to eliminate the loss of foodstuffs owing to human factors in harvesting, storing, transporting and processing.

The second measure is to exploit and utilize all energy resources available and to economize on energy consumption to the fullest extent. Energy resources constitute a key link in the producing, processing, transporting and storing of farm produce. Therefore, in addition to the rational utilization of petroleum, coal, natural gas and hydroelectricity, it is necessary to exploit and utilize atomic energy, solar energy, wind energy, terrestrial heat, biological energy, and so on. It is easy to see that the strengthening of basic theoretical studies and the application of new techniques is quite necessary. In the meantime, effective measures must be taken to economize on energy consumption. In recent years, aside from the direct improvement of farm machinery, the saving of petroleum, and the use of other fuels in place of petroleum, emphasis has been given to the use of organic fertilizer to replace or supplement chemical fertilizers, the use of biological prevention and control to replace or supplement agricultural chemical prevention and control, the use of drip watering and spray watering in place of watering by flooding, the practice of not plowing and reducing plowing in place of repeated plowing and hoeing, the cultivation of crop species with a high resistance to disease, insects, drought, cold and salinity, the study of enhancing the photosynthesis rate of plants, the improvement of the rate of nitrogen fixation owing to the symbiosis of plants and bacteria, and so on. All this is for the purpose of saving energy and, at the same time, producing an equal quantity of, or more, products.

The third measure is to take active measures to prevent the deterioration of the natural environment as well as to maintain and improve the ecological balance. The causes of the deterioration of the natural environment are numerous.

Naturally, it is necessary to adopt effective measures in various respects in order to prevent the deterioration of the natural environment and to maintain the ecological balance. It is necessary to take technological measures as well as to resort to political and legal measures. For certain questions, for example the contamination of the high seas, the spreading of insect pests, and so on, the solution has to come through international laws.

To summarize, the following must be achieved to modernize agriculture: 1) it is necessary to formulate correct policies and laws; 2) it is necessary to enhance the people's scientific and cultural standards; 3) it is necessary to make scientific research work advance ahead of production; 4) it is necessary to maintain the ecological balance; 5) it is necessary to exploit and develop energy resources as well as save energy; 6) it is necessary to have cooperation between the various departments; 7) it is necessary to pay attention to economic results; and 8) it is necessary to ensure a good performance in popularizing technology. Negligence of any of the above-mentioned eight requirements will hinder the advancement of agricultural modernization.

3. The Natural and Social Economic Conditions of Our Country

1) The characteristics of the geographical position and climate of our country.

The following are the advantages of the geographical position and climate of our country. First of all, the subtropical and tropical regions account for more than one-fourth of the total area of our country, characterized by a warm climate, abundant rainfall, and plentiful produce--very richly endowed by nature indeed. The countries and regions of the northern hemisphere located at the same latitude as our country are mostly dry and arid lands. In the second place, in the eastern part of our country the rainy season occurs at the same time of year that plants need the most watering: during the warm period of fast growth. Consequently, the rainfall has a very good effect. Besides, in the northwestern part of our country, the oases on the Qinghai-Xizang Plateau, as well as the plains in the northern part of our country, are benefited by long daylight hours, strong radiation, and a wide range of temperatures during the daytime.

The unfavorable aspects of the climate of our country are as follows: the climate of the northwestern part of our country and that of the Qinghai-Xizang Plateau, which, taken together, account for about half of the total area of our country, is either semiarid or arid. With the exception of 5 percent of this region, which is oases and valleys, the rest is not suitable for developing crop cultivation because of the lack of rainfall and the presence of large areas of quicksand, the Gobi Desert, salt flats as well as other arid land. The rainy season in the eastern part of our country lasts from July to September. Spring is often marked by drought and autumn by flooding. In winter and spring every year, a cold Siberian current constantly sweeps deep into the northern part of our country as well as the Changjiang River basin. In some cases, it even sweeps southward and hits region south of the river and the tropical parts of our country, with disastrous effects on rubber trees and other economically valuable trees.

2) The characteristics of the topography of our country.

Ours is a mountainous country with plateaus, hilly land and mountainous land accounting for two-thirds of the total area of our country. Plains and basins account for the other third. On the plateaus and high mountains, since the air temperature is low and the growth period for plants is short, many food-grains cannot ripen. As for mountainous land, since the slopes are steep and the top soil is thin, farming is apt to cause soil erosion and destruction of the ecological balance. Influenced by its complex topography, mountainous land is subject to big differences in local climate and soil conditions. Failure is bound to occur if the laws of nature are violated. These are the shortcomings of mountainous land.

However, mountainous land in our country has obvious advantages too. First, in the northwestern dry areas, where there are many mountains over 5,000 feet in height with snowcaps the year round providing "water reservoirs in a solid state," water is released from melted snow in the summer to irrigate the oases and valleys, drought seldom strikes farmland in this part of the dry area. Second, mountainous land is in a good position to receive water. This is the reason why semiarid grasslands and lush forests are found on mountains in the arid areas of our country, constituting a foundation for developing animal husbandry and forestry. Mountainous land produces plentiful starchy food and edible oil from woody plants, rare medicinal herbs, tea, and precious fur animals, providing good resources for developing sideline production. Forests on mountainous land are "green water reservoirs," providing water resources for agriculture on the plains. Reservoirs on mountainous land can also be used to develop freshwater fish breeding. Therefore, mountainous land in our country is in a good position to develop forestry, animal husbandry, fishery, sideline production and other diversified operations, which taken together comprise a diversified three-dimensional large-scale agriculture. Third, our country's mountains, which run horizontally from west to east, curb the cold air currents coming from north to south in winter and spring. The reason that cotton, hami melon and grapes can be grown in southern Xinjiang is related to the fact that the cold air current is curbed by the Tianshan Mountains. The Sichuan basin is known as "the land of abundance." Aside from its fertile soil, this has much to do with the Qinling Mountains and Daba Mountains north of it, which curb the cold air currents. The reason why the Brazil rubber trees that normally grow on the equator can be grown on the southern slope of Xishuangbanna, which is at latitude 21-22 degrees north and is 450 to 900 meters above sea level, is that the Ailao Mountains in the northeast acts as a screen for it.

3) The characteristics of our country's soil.

In the past, it was said that in general, the soil in our country north of the Qinling Mountains is calcareous, acidic south of it, and saline-alkaline in the northwestern part of our country. The actual condition is that soil within a few meters may be of differed variety owing to the difference in base rock. From the viewpoint of plant ecology, the fertility and barrenness of soil is not absolute because they differ with the specific crop of tree planted. The same soil might be rich for one crop but poor for another. Therefore, the fertility and barrenness of soil must be considered in association with the various species.

4) Organic and soil resources.

In terms of species, the biological resources of our country are multifarious. There are approximately 32,000 species of higher plants. As for wild animals, there are 414 species of mammals, and 1,166 species of birds that are known. Many of these are unique specimens of animals and plants that are rare and precious in the world. Unfortunately, they are being ruthlessly destroyed.

Of the 14.4 billion mu of land in our country, less than 11 percent is arable land, or about 1.5 mu per capita. Wasteland suitable for reclamation amounts to only 100 or 200 million mu. Therefore, we must ensure rational protection and utilization of plants and animals as well as of the land resources of our country. We must also devote great efforts to improving the rate of utilization and production.

5) The socioeconomic condition of our country.

First of all, the rural population accounts for about 80 percent of the total population of our country. Labor resources are very abundant. This is the most prominent feature of our economy, which dictates the characteristics of the Chinese-style agricultural modernization. Second, our country has a very long cultural history. In their production practices over the past several thousand years, the working people have cultivated many good varieties of crops and trees as well as good breeds of domesticated animals, poultry and fish. Various crop systems and planting techniques have also been set up in the complex ecological environment of our country according to various local needs. All this provides precious wealth for the realization of Chinese-style agricultural modernization. Third, in view of our large population and poor economic foundation, the problem of economically utilizing the limited material resources is also an important link. Fourth, the backwardness of agricultural science, the lack of technological personnel, and the poor cultural standard of the peasants constitute another difficulty faced by the agricultural modernization of our country.

4. Several Strategic Problems in Realizing the Modernization of Agriculture in Our Country

1) Realize the concepts of "big grain" and "big agriculture" and develop farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery on an overall basis.

The fundamental goal of modernizing agriculture is to ensure good food, good clothing, good spending money and good housing for 1.2 billion people by the end of this century so that the people will become affluent. At present, most people in our country live on a diet which only provides heat from carbohydrates. This is insufficient to ensure the people's good health. Therefore, great efforts should be made to increase the production of meat, eggs, dairy products, fish and other animal protein and plant protein products as well as vegetables, fruit, sugar, vegetable oil and other food products in order to change the makeup of agriculture and the makeup of food produced in our country.

It is evident that "grain" does not denote cereals only; it includes many other things. For this reason, we must formulate the concept of "big grain" to gain an understanding of the importance of "big agriculture."

As shown by the natural conditions of the country, half of the total area of our country is grassland, mountain grazing land, hillside grazing land, barren and uncultivated land, and plateau that is suitable for developing animal husbandry. In addition, there are large areas of mountainous land suitable for developing forestry as well as 300 to 400 million mu of inland water areas and large areas of coastal and shallow seas suitable for aquatic breeding.

The inorganic elements of nature--water, soil, light, heat and air--and the organic elements--plants, animals, and bacteria--do not exist in a vacuum. They are interrelated, interdependent and conditional upon one another. If one element changes, a chain reaction follows. Therefore, in order to protect and improve the ecological balance, it is an important and strategic task to study well how to rationally use the land and water surfaces of our country in the service of "big agriculture."

2) The practice of intensive operations is an important policy for increasing grain production and other types of production.

In view of the natural condition of our country, viz, that the reclaimable land area is quite small, the potential for increasing grain production by increasing the area of arable land is limited. The best way to increase grain production can only be to increase the per-unit area yield of the low output fields, which account for two-thirds of all the arable land in the country, as well as to increase the modest output of ordinary fields.

The total area of low output fields in our country is about 500 million mu. With proper improvement of the land and proper input of materials and energy, it is not difficult to increase production by 200 or 300 jin per mu. This will amount to an increase in production of 100 billion jin of grain in 1 year. As for ordinary agricultural land, which accounts for about a third of the total agricultural land in our country, the potential for increasing production is also quite large. It is necessary to promote the farming system of combining land utilization with land conservation, viz, changing crops and rotating cultivation between bean crops and grain crops as well as between dry crops and paddy rice.

In recent years, the aquatic resources of coastal seas of our country have been seriously damaged. Marine fishing should be effectively controlled so that the resources have a chance to recuperate and multiply. Fishery should shift step by step from catching to breeding. Wherever possible, every effort should be made to set up processed forage bases for cattle raising. The number of cattle raised must not exceed the capacity of each ranch. The forestry resources of our country are very insufficient. Aside from rational use and conservation of existing resources, it is necessary to devote vigorous efforts to the setting up of reserve resources. What is most urgent at the moment is to earnestly implement the policy basically formulated for forest management in the new as well as old

forest regions, work out scientific programs for forest management, design and distribute well the proportions for lumber, economic, shelter and firewood forests, select appropriate and good varieties of trees, strengthen the care and protection of forests, and bring about an intensive growth of forests so as to achieve the purpose of "the more trees we cut, the more and better trees will remain, the mountains will always stay green, and the supply of timber will last forever."

One way to achieve intensive farming is to apply science and technology (a form of productive force) to agricultural production. Another way is to apply an appropriate input of energy and materials in various ways, and the third is to give full play to the plentiful labor we have, viz, to promote traditional intensive cultivation in order to greatly increase the productivity of land as well as water areas, and to set up a rational and efficient agricultural ecological system so as to get the maximum economic results.

3) Give full play to the natural dominance of the subtropical and tropical zones.

The subtropical and tropical zones of our country are lands of treasures. How should their advantages be promoted and their shortcomings be overcome in order to give full play to the natural predominance of this region? This is an important problem concerning the modernization of agriculture in our country.

In the field of agriculture, the subtropical and tropical zones account for 60 percent of the total grain production of our country and more than 90 percent of rice production of the whole country. In the southern part of our country, owing to the advantages of water and heat, there is great potential in the soil of low output fields. If rational measures are taken, it will not be difficult to raise production from 300 to 400 jin per mu to 1,000 jin per mu. Moreover, when acidic soil is irrigated, this does not result in soil salinization as in the north.

In the field of forestry, the southern part of our country is suitable for growing various species of needle-leaf and broad-leaf trees which are of high economic value. We must take advantage of this good ecological environment to rapidly develop and grow firs, bamboos and massonian pines. This can provide us with timber bases and increase the reserve forest resources of our country.

The orange ranks first among the fruits of the world. A number of varieties of oranges were originally grown in our country. The famous U.S. variety of sweet orange was transplanted from Sichuan Province. With the improvement of soil, good varieties of orange can be extensively grown in all parts of the Sichuan basin and on the southern slopes of mountainous land with red soil in the southeastern part of our country as long as attention is paid to coping with the local conditions.

Tea was originally grown on mountainous land with acidic soil in the subtropical regions of our country. Growth is especially good, both in terms of output and quality, in the ecological conditions of abundant mist and of granite and sand rock with high moisture-content and good drainage. Production should be vigorously developed there.

In addition, on the mountainous land in the subtropical region of our country, cultivation of the following should be greatly promoted in accordance with their respective ecological laws: tung oil trees, tea-oil trees, Chinese tallow trees, lacquer trees, walnut trees, chestnut trees, persimmons, dates and other woody oil plants and starchy fruit trees. In the southern part of the provinces of Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi as well as in Taiwan, growing litchis, longans, bananas and pineapples, is most appropriate. In the southern part of the tropical zone, Brazilian rubber trees, coffee, pepper and other plants can also be developed.

Subtropical and tropical water areas account for about 70 percent of the total inland water areas in our country. There is a great potential for growing fish here. Great prospects can be envisaged for growing fish, prawns, shellfish, and aquatic plants of high economic value on the subtropical and tropical sea coasts and shoals.

To tackle the easier tasks first and the more difficult tasks later and to reap the practical benefits, it is far better to devote from now on more manpower and material supplies to the development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery in the subtropical and tropical zones of our country. This will be highly effective.

4) Concentrate on one undertaking, develop diversified operations.

Generally speaking, in any region of our country there can be found plains, mountainous land, hilly land, water areas, marshland, low-lying land, terraced land and so on. It is precisely for this reason that full and rational use must be made of these different natural conditions and resources, full play must be given to their role in accordance with local conditions, and their combination with the plentiful rural labor resources of our country must be assured in order to create more material wealth. Therefore, the "one-track" administrative policy cannot be practiced, regardless of whether it is a farming region, animal husbandry region or forestry region. The correct policy should be to concentrate on one undertaking and develop diversified operations.

For example, the Huang-Huai-Hai plains are not just a commodity grain base. Much can be achieved there in developing diversified operations, because in those places not only wheat, corn and sorghum can be grown, but they are also the main producing areas for soybeans, cotton, peanuts and other products. The old sandy Huanghe riverbed is suitable for raising pears, apples, dates, persimmons, grapes and other fruits. The output is quite high and the quality is good. Paulownia can also be grown there; they grow fast and yield good timber for export. The saline-alkaline coastland and the sandbars of the Huanghe River are good for growing salinity-resistant grass for raising sheep, goats, rabbits, cattle and other herbivorous animals. The low-lying land is good for growing sesbania, cheng flax, false indigo, alfalfa, shadawang [3097 2092 2489] and so on, which are fodder as well as green manure. Ponds and brooks can be used to raise fish and to plant lotus, reeds and other products.

The Chinese tamarisk grown on saline soil and the willow grown on sandy land can be used for braiding. This is the reason why that on these plains farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fishery and other diversified undertakings should be developed with the emphasis on wheat, peanuts, sunflowers and soybeans. Limiting agricultural activities here simply to the cultivation of grain is inappropriate.

The surplus labor of farm households can be used, as allowed by local conditions, to raise rabbits, martens and silkworms as well as to produce embroidery, braiding and other labor-intensive products sold on international markets. This not only brings social wealth but also enables the peasants to rapidly become affluent.

5) Form a comprehensive view of agricultural modernization and set up a complete system of agricultural science and technology.

There are now numerous interpretations of agricultural modernization. We are of the opinion that it is better not to use the suffix "ization" in a simplified way, for example, mechanization and electrification, and so on, lest partiality should prevail and the all-round concept be broken. The essence of agricultural modernization is to place the production and management of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery on a scientific basis. The modernization of agriculture is conditional on many factors and is the synthesis of many conditions. As regards the important measures for modernizing agriculture, economic results should be taken into consideration in the light of composite, dialectical, systematic and scientific viewpoints in order to reach the best decision.

Science and technology constitute the powerful motive force in the modernization of agriculture. Faced with the acute contradiction between a large population and limited arable land, it is imperative to make use of modern science and technology, practice intensive farming and devote great efforts to the improvement of land productivity. Confronted by the complex natural conditions of our country, we must abide by natural laws and rationally use the vast expanses of mountainous land, water areas, grasslands and plateaus. Consequently, giving play to the role of science and technology as a productive force is of special and strategic significance. Only in this way can we get the maximum output and the best economic results with the minimum input of material and energy.

In order to give full play to the role played by science and technology as a productive force, all kinds of agricultural scientists and technicians must be trained in large numbers, and a complete system to extend education and research findings must be set up. At present, apart from increasing and strengthening agricultural colleges and research institutes as well as combining teaching, research and popularization work, agricultural cadres of all levels must take part in rotational training classes in order to train management and technological personnel of all kinds. In the meantime, rural education must be reformed and

most of the ordinary middle schools should be transformed into agricultural vocational schools in order to train agricultural technological personnel for the communes and production brigades, who will be responsible for the promotion of technology and the rapid application of advanced knowhow, both of our own country and from abroad, to production.

In short, there is an immense potential for our country's agriculture. As long as things are done in accordance with natural and economic laws, the modernization of our country's agriculture will be accelerated.

(This article was a speech delivered as a lecture at the Secretariat of the party Central Committee by Xu Guanren, a genetics seed breeding specialist, and Hou Xueyi, a plant ecology specialist. The article was abridged by the authors--editor.)

THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM AND SCIENTIFIC FARMING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 inside back cover

[Article by Huarong County CCP Committee, Hunan]

[Text] After various forms of the production responsibility system were carried out in the rural areas, some comrades worried that the decentralized operations would interfere with scientific farming. Facts in our county have convincingly proved this anxiety to be entirely unwarranted.

After the county carried out the responsibility system of "unified administration, division of labor according to specialization, and assigning responsibilities to each laborer and linking remuneration to output" in an all-round way, there emerged an unexpected and unprecedented upsurge in scientific farming. This is strikingly manifested in the following three new common practices: First, learning scientific farming has become the prevailing practice. The 10,000 or more copies of scientific works on agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry which were stored for years in various bookstores throughout the country have been sold out in a brief space of time. The number of issues of the tabloid KEXUE ZHONGTIAN [SCIENTIFIC FARMING] published by the county agricultural and forestry bureau continues to increase. At present, half the peasant households in the county subscribe to it. Every time technical schools begin classes or broadcast courses are given, the peasants swarm forward and concentrate their attention on the lectures. Second, seeking out teachers and learning from their experiences has become a regular practice. The agricultural technical cadres, peasant technical personnel, model workers and old peasants have become "people in great demand." Their high-yield plots and model fields have become sites which people vie with one another to visit. Peasants who ask for "a recipe for achieving high yields" "frequent these people's abodes, tug at their clothes and pester them to pass on their experiences." Third, striving for high-yield plots has become the order of the day. This year more than 30,000 households participated in the drive for high yields in early rice launched by the county, communes and brigades, constituting about one-third of the total number of households responsible for output quotas assigned to them under a contract. The area of cultivated land involved in this drive was 94,000 mu, accounting for nearly one-fifth of the total area of cultivated land. Noticeable achievements have been made in this enthusiasm for scientific farming both in popularization and application of technology. The technological measures and fine variety of seeds which were hard to popularize for years have spread

like wildfire, and some agricultural chemicals and chemical fertilizers which were formerly unsalable have become sold out. The county this year had an additional 50 million more jin of early rice than it had last year. The per-unit area yield of early rice surpassed 700 jin for the first time. It is expected that the annual total grain output will be nearly 100 million jin more than in the previous year. Thus the responsibility system has brought about intensive popular interest in scientific farming, and scientific farming has promoted bumper harvests.

Why does the responsibility system promote scientific farming?

First, the implementation of the responsibility system has closely integrated the rights, responsibilities and interests of the peasants, thus enabling them to truly participate in management and administration and be the masters of agricultural policy formulation. Instead of thinking only of their farmwork and work-points for labor of the day, they are held responsible for the whole process of production and the annual harvests in every possible way. This has greatly aroused their enthusiasm for labor and sparked their immense zeal for striving for high yields through scientific farming.

Second, the responsibility system of "assigning responsibilities to each laborer by linking remuneration with output" requires every peasant to independently engage in almost the whole range of farmwork and grasp its applied technology. However, in the past, the number of peasants who could basically manage the whole range of farmwork in the production of paddy rice and the related applied technology was no more than one-tenth of the total number of peasants. This contradiction of unsuitability is now becoming increasingly striking. The peasants have a strong desire for agricultural scientific and technological knowhow.

Third, the introduction of the responsibility system has provided the material conditions for implementation measures for scientific farming. In the past, the strain on manpower was more often than not manmade, the collective was weak and scientific farming lacked the necessary conditions. Now high work efficiency has saved manpower and high yields have enhanced financial strength, thus initially putting an end to the situation in which ability fell short of desire to engage in scientific farming.

Meanwhile, the responsibility system stresses division of labor according to specialization. The tendency in which the inner agricultural branches are increasingly reaching the stage of specialization will be more beneficial for the peasants' serious study of special techniques.

Some people say that in 1 or 2 years, when the peasants are technically skilled in farmwork, this "enthusiasm for farming" will cool off. We hold that this argument is not comprehensive. Practice has shown that the demands of the vast numbers of peasant masses for improvement of their material and cultural living standards continue to grow and their demands for advanced science and technology continue to rise. Furthermore, a great variety of better agricultural scientific

and technological discoveries will emerge and be popularized. This is because the intensive mass popular interest in scientific farming has trained and is training large batches of scientific and technical qualified personnel and has made scientific and technological discoveries, and has also posed many new questions for the scientific departments, agricultural technological departments and professional agricultural technological cadres and encouraged them to work and study more diligently. It is anticipated that with the consolidation and improvement of the agricultural responsibility system, the tide of scientific farming will surge higher and higher.

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